

(Re)Mapping Medieval Antioch

Urban Transformations from the Early Islamic to the Middle Byzantine Periods

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Scholars have frequently taken a bleak view of Islamic and medieval Anṭākiya, arguing that a significant decline and ruination of the postclassical city had already begun before the Islamic conquests.¹ According to those who subscribe to this view, a series of natural and human catastrophes that befell the city in the sixth and seventh centuries left a crippled town that never fully recovered. Following the Islamic conquests, they maintain, the city remained insignificant, for it is barely mentioned in the Arabic texts. Indeed, this view is supported by the Princeton excavations from 1932 to 1939, which revealed little of the postclassical city. However, the few historical accounts available to us affirm that the city did not suffer a dramatic loss in population but rather maintained an active economic and religious life. Further, the Princeton excavations reveal significant

architectural and material remains. Although Antioch had contracted from its previous extent in the Roman and Byzantine fourth and fifth centuries, it continued to function as a local urban administrative and economic center for the surrounding frontier province. Moreover, the city itself was a highly attractive site of conquest, as the successive Islamic, Byzantine, and Crusader occupations demonstrate. Such evidence offers a compelling case for reenvisioning postclassical Antioch and questioning the traditional paradigm. This article seeks to replace the narrative of Antioch's decline with one of contraction but self-sufficiency and transformation by presenting a rereading and reanalysis of evidence from textual sources and from the published Princeton excavations, supplemented with direct though limited observations of the excavated material housed at the Princeton University Art Museum. The consequent methodological and historical revisions in how we understand the city lead to a different conception of space. It therefore adds to our increasing knowledge about continuity and change in a major Roman and late Roman city, the complexity and regional variations of early medieval urbanism, and the role and influence of a frontier town on the periphery of, and on the borderline between, the Islamic and Byzantine Empires.

Debating Decline or Transformation

Between the years 500 and 638, no fewer than twelve disasters afflicted Antioch and its surroundings. These

1 Using literary evidence and, secondarily, published archaeological material, scholars have argued for decline by the mid-6th century caused by natural disaster and plague (H. Kennedy, "The Last Century of Byzantine Syria: A Reinterpretation," *ByzF* 10 [1985]: 141–83)—or, instead of decline, stagnation until the 10th century (C. Foss, "Syria in Transition, A.D. 550–750: An Archaeological Approach," *DOP* 51 [1997]: 189–269). See also C. Kondoleon, "The City of Antioch: An Introduction," in *Antioch: The Lost Ancient City*, ed. eadem (Princeton, 2000), 4–5. C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800* (New York, 2007), 453, 458, 620, 624, 777, views Antioch as one of two exceptions (the other being Gaza) to the process of Byzantine/early Islamic urban continuity and therefore argued it was a city in decline. But his assertion mainly reflects a lack of archaeological evidence.

fires, plagues, and earthquakes, combined with internal conflicts, civil war, and the Persian conquest of 540, were thought to have inflicted substantial permanent damage on the city, despite repairs undertaken after 526 and 540.² Yet worse was still to come. The Arab conquest of 638, followed by successive earthquakes in the eighth and ninth centuries, delivered a series of shattering blows to the city—blows from which some argue it never recovered. When these disasters are placed side by side, Antioch and its population appear to be a battered ship with a beleaguered crew, barely weathering a succession of calamities and slowly sinking.

Despite the repairs made to the city in the sixth century, Hugh Kennedy, in his seminal article “From *Polis* to *Madina*” (1985), argued for a city that was already transforming before the Islamic conquest, and he seriously questioned Procopius’s panegyric account of Justinian’s sixth-century restored city of Antioch:

In many ways the rebuilding of Antioch was something of a rearguard action and may not have been as successful as the author [Procopius] would have us believe. We know from archaeological evidence that the main colonnaded street was rebuilt, if on a smaller scale, but excavations have not shown that the theatres and baths were effectively restored. Not surprisingly, in view of the circumstances, city walls were given priority and it is debatable how far urban life of the traditional pattern ever returned to the city.³

Although Libanius and Malalas described Anṭākiya as a city that constantly outgrew its borders, evidence for the shrinking of its urban sprawl is found

as early as the reign of Justinian (ca. 560 CE), who reduced the “uselessly large wall.”⁴ Following Kennedy’s publication of this article, other scholars have likewise refuted pronouncements tying the decline of Antioch, like that of every other city in the Near East, to the Islamic conquests.⁵ Helen Saradi, in a recent monograph, avoids simplistic causative explanations as she carefully argues for a substantial shift in both the plan and perception of sixth-century Byzantine cities. Cities declined across the Byzantine Empire as former imperial, civic, public, and well-populated spaces, but rather than being fatal to the urban fabric these changes allowed local economies and production mainly on a private scale to continue.⁶ Her work convincingly demonstrates the gradual and widespread process of urban transformation already under way in the sixth century. However, it continues to embrace the idea of a city passively falling into deterioration through neglect or abandonment. Moreover, her analysis stops short of significantly differentiating among Byzantine cities that were transformed and revived under Islamic rule.

From archaeological evidence at Jarash and elsewhere, Alan Walmsley argues that the changes affecting Anṭākiya were not haphazard or temporary, but instead were “accommodated carefully and sympathetically within the existing urban plan.” Furthermore, he states that the increase of commercial and industrial space reflects structural changes within the city’s social

2 Fires occurred in 522 and 573; earthquakes in 526, 528, 551, 557, 577, and 588; plagues affecting both humans (bubonic) and cattle in 542, 553, and 560; and drought in 599. See Foss, “Syria in Transition,” 190–91.

3 H. Kennedy, “From *Polis* to *Madina*: Urban Change in Late Antique and Early Islamic Syria,” *Past and Present* 106 (1985): 6. This assertion is partially corroborated by J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, who suggests in *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford, 1972), 264, that the city already began to develop local rule and trade-based organizations, characteristic of the medieval city. On the subject of an organic and irregular street layout, however, he concedes that while it may have begun in the Byzantine period, excavations show that the grid layout persisted until the end of the Byzantine period—evidence of the enduring influence revealed by the Princeton excavations.

4 Procopius, *De aedificiis* 7.47, ed. and trans. H. B. Dewing with G. Downey, Loeb 343 (London and Cambridge, MA, 1940), 137.2–5. Libanius, *Or.* 11.234; see J. Malalas, *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, trans. E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, and R. Scott, *Byzantina Australiensia* 4 (Melbourne, 1986), 13.346.

5 An exception is F. Guidetti, “Urban Continuity and Change in Late Roman Antioch,” in *Urban Decline in the Byzantine Realm*, ed. B. Forsén, proceedings of the conference (Helsinki, 25 September 2009), special issue of *Acta Byzantina Fennica*, n.s., 3 (2010): 103–4; he combines textual sources with the archaeological evidence to argue for late Roman continuity, shown by the city’s rebuilding and its maintenance of prominent status despite the calamities that occurred. Yet he, too, marks the city’s point of “sudden decline . . . from an administrative, commercial and economic point of view” (104) at the time of the Islamic conquests.

6 H. Saradi, *The Byzantine City in the Sixth Century: Literary Images and Historical Reality* (Athens, 2006), 41–42; see also 13–45 for a good overview of the debate on the city. John Haldon also argues for the survival of the local economy in *Byzantium in the Seventh Century* (New York, 1990), 95, 98.

and economic institutions.⁷ Donald Whitcomb, in his recent article on urban change in Caesarea/ Qaysāriya, raises the possibility of a distinctive, deliberately repurposed, and contracted late antique city in between the classical and early Islamic incarnations.⁸ Gideon Avni, most recently, argues for a nuanced and complex process of “intensification and abatement”; his approach considers regional variability and the individual profile of cities during the Byzantine–early Islamic transition.⁹ One might also question whether it is even relevant or appropriate to describe a city that finds itself in the role of *thaghr* (*thughūr*, pl.) or frontier town as having declined. Shifting geopolitical boundaries have taken it out of the race, so to speak. If we proceed from these developments in historiography, we find that current definitions of the transformation of classical, late antique, and Islamic cities replace ideas of decline and make possible a new analysis of the materials relating to Antioch.¹⁰ I begin with what is known from textual sources.

Extending Downey’s History of Antioch in Syria from the Islamic Conquest to the Crusades

Three obstacles have prevented the historical record of medieval and Islamic Antioch from being integrated with the city’s better-known earlier past: the Princeton project was not interested in the later periods; it is assumed that the disasters that befell the city wiped away everything; and the city is mentioned infrequently in Islamic sources. While the archaeologists of

the Princeton team were excavating the city of Antioch, Glanville Downey was on site with them compiling the city’s history, published in *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* (1961). Downey himself recognized that the history of post-Byzantine Antioch was beyond the scope of that standard and weighty work (and of his scholarly abilities), and he devoted only three paragraphs to it.¹¹ Nevertheless, by ending Antioch’s most detailed historical account with the Islamic conquests he created an artificial barrier that has been difficult to breach.¹²

Little is known of the real effects of the earthquakes, invasions, fires, floods, civil wars, and religious persecution that befell the city in the sixth

11 G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria from the Seleucids to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton, 1961), 577–78. See books on Antioch such as F. Cimok, *Antioch on the Orontes* (Istanbul, 1980), 20, and A. Demir, *Antakya through the Ages* (Istanbul, 1996), 55–57, which reflect and promote the view of Islamic Antioch as an appendix to its history. An exception is E. S. Bouchier, *A Short History of Antioch, 300 B.C.–A.D. 1268* (Oxford, 1921). Despite opening with remarks that Antioch “resumed its old position as an outpost of European civilization against the hordes of the Far East” and that it experienced the “decay of the caliphate” followed by “the campaigns of the heroic Nicephoros Phocas” (pp. v, x), Bouchier takes a far less negative or judgmental tone as he discusses early Islamic through Crusader Antioch in its larger Islamic historical context at considerable length (200–300).

12 Ending the city’s history with the Crusades or 11th century is equally artificial, but nothing much can be adduced from the archaeological evidence after the Crusader period. To be sure, the city continued (and continues) until the present day, but the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods are even more poorly known. Yet because the periods are textually rich, much work can be done. See Necati Alkan’s work on foundational and early histories from 17th-century sources, “Kitab-ı Tevarih-i Antakya: A Legendary History of Antioch According to an Ottoman Manuscript of the 18th Century” (forthcoming). Notable recent exceptions to this neglect include K. Ciggaar and M. Metcalf, eds., *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean*, Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies (Dudley, MA, 2006); and G. Bahadır, *İslâm Fethinden Haçlılara Kadar (M.S. 636–1100)* (Antakya, 2010). K.-P. Todt and B.-A. Vest, *Syria, TIB 15* (Vienna, 2013), features a large section on Antioch of the early Islamic, middle Byzantine, Saljūq, Crusader, and later periods (539–664). See also the recently published proceedings of the Lexicon Topographicum Antiochenum project: B. A. Vest, “Les sources médiévales dites ‘orientales’ (syriaques, arabes, arméniennes et autres) concernant l’histoire de la ville d’Antioche et sa topographie,” 179–202, and K.-P. Todt, “Antioch in Byzantine Sources of the 8th–13th Centuries,” 203–22, both in *Les Sources de l’histoire du paysage urbain d’Antioche sur l’Oronte: Actes des journées d’études des 20 et 21 septembre 2010* (Vincennes-Saint-Denis, 2012).

7 A. Walmsley, *Early Islamic Syria: An Archaeological Assessment* (London, 2007), 38–39.

8 See D. Whitcomb, “Qaysāriyah as an Early Islamic Settlement,” in *Shaping the Middle East: Jews, Christians, and Muslims in an Age of Transition, 400–800 C.E.*, ed. K. Holum and H. Lapin (Bethesda, MD, 2011), 65.

9 G. Avni, “‘From Polis to Madina’ Revisited—Urban Change in Byzantine and Early Islamic Palestine,” *JRAS* 21, no. 3 (2011): 301–29.

10 In this way, the study of Antioch/Anṭākiya is part of a much larger recent debate on late antique/early medieval transformation (ca. 400–800 CE) throughout the Mediterranean; see, e.g., J. Henning, ed., *Post-Roman Towns, Trade and Settlement in Europe and Byzantium*, 2 vols. (New York, 2007); L. Lavan, ed., *Recent Research in Late Antique Urbanism*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 42 (Portsmouth, RI, 2001); L. Lavan, L. Özgenel, and A. Sarantis, eds., *Housing in Late Antiquity: From Palaces to Shops* (Leiden, 2007); and J. Haldon and L. Brubaker, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680–850* (New York, 2011), 531–72.

and seventh centuries. For example, although earthquakes struck in 712 (over a period of forty days), 713, 716, 859/60, 881, and 1082, their damage to the city is unclear.¹³ Such disasters are featured in many texts, both Christian and Muslim, during this time; to recognize that they are part of a growing pattern of apocalyptic imagery is not to deny that they occurred. Moreover, the rich descriptions of Anṭākiya and its history after the seventh century until the Mamlūk conquest suggest a city not destroyed but the focus of much reconstruction and transformation. Attention to what institutions, monuments, and buildings were selected for rebuilding following each calamity can reveal that over time, the priorities of urban planning and space shifted toward plans that were more pragmatic and on a smaller scale.

The city does not appear as often in texts during the Islamic period as in the Byzantine period. One reason is that Anṭākiya was assumed not to occupy a privileged position, mainly owing to its new role as a frontier town on the margins of the Islamic intellectual and religious community in the central lands of the Umayyad and ‘Abbāsid caliphates. Towns on the Islamic-Byzantine frontier also received very little attention because of a second assumption: that their only purpose was to muster the armies that would raid Byzantine lands.¹⁴ Yet it is possible to gather passing references to the frontier town, undoubtedly at times exaggerated or inaccurate. Rather than engage in literary criticism of these textual sources, this article uses them to reveal significant attributes of the administration, economy, populations, and urban landscape of Anṭākiya/Antioch, including its monuments, during

both the early Islamic period (638–969 CE) and the middle Byzantine period (969–1084 CE).

The Early Islamic Period

The history of Anṭākiya in the Umayyad period (661–749 CE) is a patchwork of geographic descriptions and isolated historical clips. Despite the lack of coherent sources, several important descriptions give a sense of both the continuities and the transformations that the city experienced. During the Islamic conquests, Antioch, the headquarters of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, surrendered quickly by treaty in 638 CE to the Arab armies led by Abu ‘Ubayda and Khālīd b. al-Walīd.¹⁵

ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMY

In the Umayyad period, the city was initially part of the *jund* or military province of Himṣ (Emesa). The caliph Yazīd b. Mu‘āwīya (680–683) placed Anṭākiya along with Ḥalab (Aleppo, Beroia) and Manbij (Hierapolis) within the *jund* of Qinnasrīn (Chalcis), which was known for producing a yearly revenue of 420,000 dinars and 1,000 camel loads (*himl*) of raisins (*zabīb*).¹⁶ Anṭākiya was strategically and economically important because it was the first major urban center reached by travelers after crossing the Amanus Mountains through the Belen Pass from Anatolia and Cilicia into northern Syria, from where roads then led east to Ḥalab or south toward Dimashq (Damascus). The scale of trade coming in and going out of the city from the Mediterranean via the Orontes River and the port of al-Mina is difficult to assess during the Umayyad period. It was probably somewhat less than in earlier periods on account of

13 Some descriptions are undoubtedly exaggerated: e.g., Ṭabarī (*Ta’rikh al-rusul wa al-mulūk*, 3rd ser., pt. 3 [Leiden, 2010], 12:1439–40, year 245) states that the earthquake of December 859/January 860 killed many people, destroyed 1,500 homes, and collapsed 90 towers; part of Mt. Casius slid into the sea, the Orontes disappeared for 6 km, and black vapors rose from the sea. See also Elias of Nisibis, *La Chronographie d’Elie Bar-Sinaya Metropolitain de Nisibe*, trans. L.-J. Delaporte (Paris, 1910), 99, and Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, trans. and ed. J.-B. Chabot, 4 vols. (Paris, 1889–1910), 2:193, 3:183. Michael the Syrian states that in the 1082 earthquake, 86 towers collapsed (3:180).

14 The notable exception is Ṭarsūs, for which we have the detailed accounts of Ṭarsūsī and al-Muhallabī, preserved in Ibn al-‘Adīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī ta’rikh Ḥalab* (Damascus, 1988); these do at times extol the virtues of frontier fighting.

15 A. M. M. Abu Ezzah, “The Syrian *Thughūr*” (PhD diss., University of Exeter, 1980), 33–34, 51; W. E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (New York, 1992), 41, 63, 75, 77, 79; H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates* (New York, 1986), 61; Downey, *History of Antioch in Syria*, 577.

16 Kennedy, *Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, 90. In G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems: A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650–1500*, Khayats Oriental Reprints 14 (Beirut, 1965), 45, *zabīb* is translated “olive oil.” This comes to somewhere between 135,000 (298 lb.) to 270,000 kg (595 lb.) of raisins, based on a 12th-century weight; see M. I. Marcinkowski, *Measures and Weights in the Islamic World* (Kuala Lumpur, 2003), 18. See also M. Shatzmiller, “Measuring the Medieval Islamic Economy,” www.medievalisaliceconomy.uwo.ca/measures-egypt.html (accessed 8 October 2012).

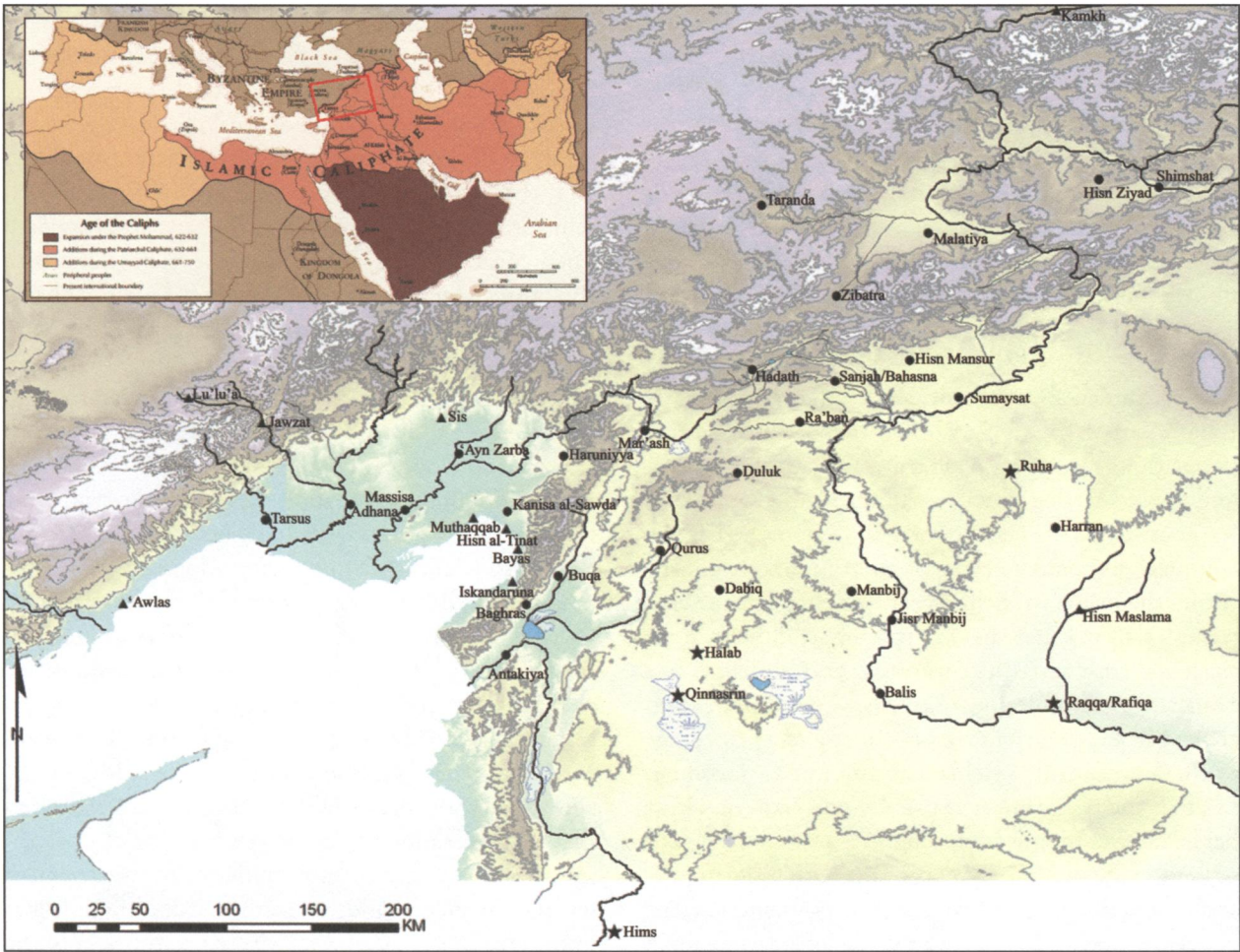


FIG. 1. Map of Antioch and the Islamic-Byzantine *thughūr*: major cities represented by star, frontier towns represented by circle, frontier forts/waystations represented by triangle (large map by author; inset map courtesy U.S. government [public domain]).

the strong Byzantine naval presence and the silting up of the river, which thus became unnavigable.¹⁷

The city's history in the 'Abbāsid period (749–969 CE for this region) is also poorly known until the tenth century, though the city was by no means a forgotten backwater. Probably during the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd (786–809), Anṭākiya became a capital of the newly apportioned *ʿawāṣim* (literally, “the protectresses”) or frontier province, though Manbij and Raqqa (Callinicum) are also said to have served in this

role, depending on the sources (see fig. 1).¹⁸ The *ʿawāṣim* province was an administrative and political creation designed to break up the unity of the *thughūr* frontier.¹⁹ In reality, there was little differentiation between the *thughūr* and *ʿawāṣim* in the two-tiered system. A tax

18 Or they alternated as capital. For discussion of the difference in sources, see Abu Ezzah, “Syrian *Thughūr*,” 92. Writing in the middle of the 10th century, Istakhri and Ibn Ḥawqal stated that Anṭākiya was the capital: Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-ārd* (Beirut, 1964), 171; Istakhri, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik* (Leiden, 1967). See also Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, 5 vols. (Beirut, [1955–57]), 5:205, 1:266, 4:165.

19 M. Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War* (New Haven, 1996), 87.

17 C. Pharr, trans., *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions* (Princeton, 1952), 10.24.3.

officer (*ṣaḥīb al-dār*) was stationed in Anṭākiya and responsible for controlling trade and revenue.²⁰ As both a trading and a manufacturing center, the city was a terminus of the Silk Road and also a center of production for luxury textiles—specifically silk weaving, Anṭākiya giving its own name to a certain cover or carpet—and for cotton paper.²¹ By the tenth century, citrus (*shajar al-nāranj* and *utruj al-mudawwar*) was introduced from India and cultivated around the city.²²

POPULATIONS

More is known about the city's inhabitants in the early Islamic period; they included a portion of the Byzantine population who stayed, Arab tribes from the initial conquests who settled down, and non-Arab groups who were settled in the city. Immediately after the Islamic conquest, part of the city's population, likely constituting the majority of the Byzantine elite, left the city, though they may have been departing steadily since the sixth and early seventh centuries as part of the process of urban transformation. Citizens who did not evacuate had to pay the tribute of one dinar and a percentage of their agricultural yields: the amount varies somewhat in the texts, but it is usually one *jarīb* of wheat per head (the amount from roughly a 40 m × 40 m plot of land).²³ Nevertheless, texts indicate that during the short transitional period immediately postconquest, the city was governed by Antiochene nobles who remained in the city.²⁴

Of those in the elite who remained in the city, most were patriarchs and bishops of the church.²⁵ The status of the church and of its patriarchs was alternately

stable and precarious, the latter condition emphasized more strongly in surviving Greek, Syriac, and Christian Arabic texts.²⁶ From the conquest until 742, no Melkite Greek Orthodox patriarch of Antioch was allowed to reside in the city, living instead in Constantinople. In 742, the caliph Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik (724–743) reinstated Patriarch Stephen in the city, and Patriarch Theophylactus (744–750) had a close relationship with the caliph Marwān II.²⁷ Yet during the early 'Abbāsīd period, in 756, Patriarch Theodore, suspected of supplying information to the Byzantines, was banished to southern Syria; and in 787, Melkite patriarchs from Anṭākiya were not permitted to attend the Seventh Ecumenical Council. Despite these isolated events, the Melkite community of Anṭākiya was an important one for northern Syria and gradually became more assimilated into Islamic life in the city, adopting the Arabic language.²⁸ By the beginning of the ninth century, Patriarch Hiob penned the first Christian homily in Arabic. In 838, al-Mu'taṣim (833–842) even took the patriarch of Antioch with him on his raid of Amorion (Ammūriyya).²⁹ During periods of intolerance toward Melkite Orthodoxy, it seems that the local Miaphysite community was more stable, as indicated by Patriarch Elias's consecration of a church in 721.³⁰

Following the Islamic conquest, Arab settlement within the city would have increased, although it is important to note that Arabs were no strangers to the city or region; nomadic and seminomadic pastoral tribes (mainly the Tanūkh and Rabī'a) had inhabited the plains and steppe hills of northern Syria since the fourth century CE, well before the Islamic conquests.³¹ It is

20 Abu Ezzah, "Syrian *Thughūr*," 120.

21 J.-C. Cheynet, "Basil II and Asia Minor," in *Byzantium in the Year 1000*, ed. P. Magdalino (Leiden, 2003), 79–80. For an extensive discussion of textile production and trade in Antioch, see T. Vorderstrasse, "Trade and Textiles from Medieval Antioch," *al-Masāq* 22, no. 2 (August 2010): 151–71.

22 Ma'sūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādin al-jawhar* [Les Prairies d'Or], ed. C. Barbier, text and trans., 9 vols. (Paris, 1861–[1930]), 2:438–39.

23 Abu Ezzah, "Syrian *Thughūr*," 51.

24 Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration* (n. 3 above), 263.

25 E. Schoolman, "Civic Transformation of the Mediterranean City: Antioch and Ravenna, 300–800 C.E." (PhD diss., UCLA, 2010), 69, 114–18. Interestingly, there are no Byzantine lead seals from the early Islamic period in the Hatay Museum in Antakya, suggesting a clear administrative shift or, at the very least, the end of lead

seal production until the 10th century; see J.-C. Cheynet, "Sceaux byzantins des Musées d'Antioche et de Tarse," *TM* 12 (1994): 469.

26 For example, see the life of Patriarch Christophoros (d. 967 or 969) written in Arabic by Ibrāhīm b. Yuhanna in the same century, in H. Zayat, "La vie du patriarche melkite d'Antioche Christophore," *PrOC* 2 (1952): 1–38, 333–36.

27 Schoolman, "Civic Transformation of the Mediterranean City," 116–17.

28 Ibid., 113–15; H. Kennedy, "The Melkite Church from the Islamic Conquest to the Crusades: Continuity and Adaptation in the Byzantine Legacy," in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress: Major Papers* (New Rochelle, NY, 1986), 325–44.

29 Abu Ezzah, "Syrian *Thughūr*," 77.

30 Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 2:490.

31 The population of the countryside surrounding Antioch likely decreased from the mid-5th century until about the 8th century,

likely that members of these tribes were found among both the Islamic armies and the first settlers of the city.

To populate the frontier and destabilize its mainly Christian and formerly Byzantine populations, other nonindigenous groups were settled in the city. Balādhurī states that the first Umayyad caliph, Mu'āwīya b. Abū Sufyān (661–680 CE), transported Persians to Anṭākiya from Ba'alabakk, Ḥimṣ, Baṣra, and Kūfā in 669/70 CE.³² It is likely that a small community of Persians were already in the city from the time of the first (540) and second (613) Persian conquests. Possibly alluding to the early establishment of the Persian community, Arabic geographers mention several temples of Persian construction that were oriented toward the sun and constellations, though these may have been Sabaeen. Persian settlement increased in the 'Abbāsīd period with the deployment of many Khurāsānī soldiers on the frontier who were sent to Anṭākiya and other frontier towns. Five thousand more were settled in 964, forming a quarter of the city.³³ By the mid-tenth century the city was thought to have a Persian majority.³⁴

A small scholarly community was present, and al-Balādhurī (d. 892), himself a Persian (though a thoroughly Arabized one) and one of the most important historians of the early Islamic period, lived and studied in Anṭākiya. He was a companion of the caliph al-Mutawakkil (847–861) and tutor of the caliph al-Mu'tazz (866–869).³⁵

as shown by both archaeological and epigraphic textual evidence: see, respectively, F. Gerritsen, A. U. de Giorgi, A. Eger, R. Özbal, and T. Vorderstrasse, "Settlement and Landscape Transformations in the Amuq Valley, Hatay: A Long-Term Perspective," *Anatolica* 34 (2008): 260–74; F. Trombley, "Demographic and Cultural Transition in the Territorium of Antioch, 6th–8th Century," in *Antioche de Syrie: Histoire, images et traces de la ville antique* (Colloque de Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 4–6 octobre 2001), ed. B. Cabouret, P.-L. Gatier, and C. Saliou, *Topoi orient-occident Supplément* 5 (Lyon–Paris, 2004), 341–62.

32 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān* (Beirut, 1957–58), 120–21; Abu Ezzah, "Syrian *Thughūr*," 49; but see H. Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs: Military and Society in the Early Islamic State* (New York, 2001), 12 and n. 74, who briefly mentions that Persians were settled in the region, though it is unclear whether they were moved to or from the city.

33 Kennedy, *Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, 280.

34 Abu Ezzah, "Syrian *Thughūr*," 123–24.

35 Ibid., 16.

Minority ethnic groups were also settled in the city. Balādhurī mentions that Mu'āwīya resettled Zuṭṭ and Sayābija marsh dwellers from southern Iraq and around the Persian Gulf (such as al-Baḥrayn) to Anṭākiya and other coastal towns in 669/70.³⁶ The caliph al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik (705–715) did the same during his reign. It is likely that these groups favored the marshy plain of Anṭākiya, where a familiar ecosystem allowed them to live much as they had before their move. But some may have become city dwellers, as evidenced by Balādhurī's mention of a statement by Abū Hafs that there was a quarter in the city known as Zuṭṭ.³⁷ During the 'Abbāsīd rise to power in 747–750, the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II (744–750), ensconced himself on the frontier and gathered support not only from surrounding tribes of northern Syria and the Jazira but also from an alliance with Muslim Slavs (Saḡālība) reportedly garrisoned at Anṭākiya by 'Abd al-Malik in 693.³⁸

Two main points are suggested by the diverse populations of Anṭākiya. First, the mix of populations that encompassed different religious and ethnic groups, as well as urban, rural, and settled nomadic people, in many ways characterizes the city as a true frontier town in the early Islamic period. Indeed, according to J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, the polyethnic and poly-religious communities of the city all lived in their own quarters "often divided by walls and gates, possessing their own mosques, baths, and market."³⁹ Second, the city and its population did not appear to be seriously affected by political upheaval, despite a nearly four-century-long turbulent period of conquests and

36 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 230; Abu Ezzah, "Syrian *Thughūr*," 49; K. 'Athamina, "Arab Settlement during the Umayyad Caliphate," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 8 (1986): 185–207.

37 Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 221.

38 F. Husayn, "The Participation of Non-Arab Elements in the Umayyad Army and Administration," in *The Articulation of Early Islamic State Structures*, ed. F. Donner (Farnham, 2012), 279; Abu Ezzah, "Syrian *Thughūr*," 86. In retaliation, the 'Abbāsīds burned down the walls of several of their cities, sparing Anṭākiya (Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence*, 52–53; but see Kennedy, *Armies of the Caliphs*, 186, who cites Theophanes' claim that responsibility for the destruction lay not with the Byzantines but with Marwān II, who destroyed the walls of all cities—except Anṭākiya, which he used as a refuge—to prevent local insurgency).

39 Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration*, 263. He also states that this clustering in enclaves, which had already started in the 6th century, led to an erosion of civic cohesion.

successive occupations that began even before the waning of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate with Ṭūlūnīd followed by 'Abbāsīd and then Hamdānīd takeovers.⁴⁰ Rather, despite the fractious nature of the population, the city rallied against hostile takeover at least twice. Marwān's stand against the 'Abbāsīds has already been mentioned. In 944, Sayf al-Dawla took the city, extending Hamdānīd rule from Ḥalab and Mawṣil west. In 965, the Hamdānīd governor Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Sulḥī stole money and defected to the Byzantine side, trying to hand the city over to Byzantine rule at the same time.⁴¹ The citizens of the city, led by the Muslim notables al-Ḥasan b. al-Ahwāzī and Rashīq al-Nasīmī, the former governor of Ṭarsūs, successfully revolted against the governor and prevented the Byzantine takeover.⁴²

URBAN LANDSCAPE

Early tenth-century sources offer insight into the Byzantine and early Islamic continuity of the physical and religious landscape. A newly dedicated Miaphysite church from the year 721 has already been mentioned. Exactly one century later, the caliph al-Ma'mūn (813–819 [833]) crowned Thomas the Slav (or Thomas of Gaziura), a rival to the throne of Constantinople who had good relations with the 'Abbāsīds, in Anṭākiya at the Cathedral of St. Peter.⁴³ Mas'ūdī (896–956) is the best source for information on the city during this last century of Ṭūlūnīd/'Abbāsīd/Hamdānīd rule between 877 and 969. He visited and perhaps briefly resided in Anṭākiya in 943, toward the end of his life, and he described many of its buildings and, interestingly, its strong Christian community. Mas'ūdī mentions two Byzantine churches still in use: al-Qusiyān (Cassianus,

the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul built in 459 or earlier), which was the main patriarchal church in the center of the city, and the Kanīsā Maryam (Church of the Virgin), a round building built under Justinian in 527 that survived even though the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd removed marble columns and alabaster in the early eighth century for the construction of the Great Mosque of Damascus.⁴⁴ Three other churches were probably built after the early seventh century: St. Paul or Dayr al-Baraghith (Monastery of the Fleas), St. Ashmunit (al-Ashmūnīt), and St. Barbara (Kanīsā Barbārā).⁴⁵ The Friday mosque of the city is not described or identified; however, the crypt (al-Dīmās) was on its right side, built with huge blocks of stone, pierced with windows, and possibly dating to the first Persian conquest in 540 (and thought to be an ancient fire temple).⁴⁶ Also next to the mosque (possibly the main mosque) was a temple built by the Saklābiyūs and the *sūq* of the armorers and lance makers. Sabaeans worshipped at this temple, which may also be identified with a Greek temple perhaps dedicated to Zeus Olympius but dismantled by Constantine and later, in the early Islamic period, converted into a watchtower.⁴⁷

40 M. Decker posits that the city's population was reduced from 150,000 to 50,000–75,000 by the 10th century; see "Frontier Settlement and Economy in the Byzantine East," *DOP* 61 (2007): 235–36.

41 Abu Ezzah, "Syrian *Thughūr*," 164.

42 The patriarch Christophoros did not support the uprising and fled to the Monastery of St. Symeon.

43 Although Thomas was in reality given only bishop and vassal status by the 'Abbāsīds, this remains one of the first instances of a coronation in Anṭākiya: H. Kennedy, "Byzantine-Arab Diplomacy in the Near East from the Islamic Conquests to the Mid-Eleventh Century," in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East* (Aldershot, 2006), art. IX, 137; W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival, 780–842* (Stanford, 1988), 229–48.

44 For a recent study of the churches of Antioch, though one focused on the early Byzantine period until the Islamic conquest, see W. Mayer and P. Allen, *The Churches of Syrian Antioch (300–638 C.E.)* (Leuven, 2012). See also G. Troupeau, "Les églises d'Antioche chez les auteurs arabes," in *L'Orient au Coeur*, ed. A. Miquel, B. Halff, and F. Sanagustin (Paris, 2001), 319–27; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab* (n. 22 above), 3:406–8.

45 The Church of St. Paul was near the northeast gate known as the Bāb al-Fāris (Knight's Gate or St. Paul's Gate). The Ashmūnīt was a former synagogue converted into a church dedicated to (Saint) Ashmūnīt and her sons, the seven Maccabean martyrs. It was said to be near the summit of a mountain, likely in the southern part of the city near the city wall. See H. Kennedy, "Antioch: From Byzantium to Islam and Back Again," in *The City in Late Antiquity*, ed. J. Rich, Leicester-Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society 3 (New York, 1992), 181–98, who also mentions the Theotokos (al-Sayyīda) church dedicated to Mary, mother of Jesus. See Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 3:407–8.

46 Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, 4:91.

47 *Ibid.*, 4:55–56. The term *Saklābiyūs* is unattested elsewhere but perhaps refers to Asclepius.

The Middle Byzantine Period

ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMY

The period of the Byzantine reconquest (969–1084) offers the richest descriptions of the city and of its inhabitants' activities. Anṭākiya was still regarded as a great city by the Byzantines—third in the world, according to Leo the Deacon (ca. 920–990s).⁴⁸ It was one of the last cities of the frontier to fall: after two failed sieges in 966 and 968, a prolonged one succeeded in 969. Parts of the city were burned in the conquest. During their brief occupation in the following century, the Byzantines built and renewed the city as a new regional capital while, presumably, erasing part of its Islamic identity. As part of the newly acquired province of Syria, middle Byzantine Antioch became a *kourato-reion* (imperial estate or treasury) and *doukaton* (duchy) whose territory included about half of the former Islamic frontier, from Cilicia to the Euphrates River and along the Mediterranean coast.⁴⁹ The Byzantines encouraged free trade between Anṭākiya and Ḥalab, a tributary state.⁵⁰ The city was known particularly for its silk and silk brocade production throughout this period into the twelfth century and later.⁵¹

POPULATIONS

The new Byzantine rulers (notably Basil II) encouraged the settlement of Christians (including Greek Orthodox, Jacobites, refugee Christians from Egypt and Palestine, and Armenians) and the establishment of bishoprics in the area.⁵² Georgian monastic communities on the nearby Black Mountain in the Orontes Delta also would have had a representative commu-

nity in Antioch.⁵³ In Antioch, however, the Arabic-speaking Melkite Greek Orthodox elites (*archontes* or *prouchontes*, *ru'asā' al-madīna*) maintained many local (i.e., Islamic) customs and still held a majority influence. They also made Antioch an intellectual center for the translation of texts from Greek to Arabic.⁵⁴ In addition, Basil II established Armenian garrisons in Antioch and surrounding towns in the region. Despite the attention directed at Antioch during this period from Constantinople, there was much political maneuvering between officials in Constantinople and the people of Antioch, and rebellion by the latter.⁵⁵ Furthermore, religious persecutions of Jacobites and Armenians (mainly Miaphysites and some Chalcedonians) were recorded in 983, 1053/54, and 1076/77.⁵⁶

BUILDINGS

Although the city and region were re-Christianized, the city did not revert to a Hellenized state after the Byzantine reconquest. Byzantine sources mention that the church of Cassianus was rebuilt as the cathedral of Antioch and two new churches were built, one dedicated to St. John Chrysostom.⁵⁷ Soon after the reconquest in

48 Leo the Deacon, *History* 4.11, ed. and trans. A.-M. Talbot and D. F. Sullivan (Washington, DC, 2005), 123, who also discusses whether Thessalonike, Rome, or Alexandria is the second city.

49 J. Shepard, "Byzantium Expanding, 944–1025," in *New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 3, c. 900–c. 1024, ed. T. Reuter (Cambridge, 1999), 603. See also the study on 95 lead seals from the Hatay Museum in Antakya, including those of at least 4 dukes of Antioch, in Cheynet, "Sceaux byzantins des Musées d'Antioche et de Tarse" (n. 25 above), 392–478.

50 Kennedy, *Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates* (n. 15 above), 280.

51 Vorderstrasse, "Trade and Textiles from Medieval Antioch" (n. 21 above), 157–59.

52 Cheynet, "Basil II and Asia Minor" (n. 21 above), 79; Kennedy, *Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates*, 280.

53 See work by Nino Kavtaria: for example, "The Georgian Scriptoria of the Black Mountain (Antioch): Illustrations of the Gospel Books," www.farig.org/images/stories/pdfs/research-illuminated-gospels.pdf (accessed 3 November 2011).

54 See S. Noble and A. Trieger, "Christian Arabic Theology in Byzantine Antioch: 'Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī and His Discourse on the Holy Trinity," *Le Muséon* 124, no. 3–4 (2011): 371–417.

55 K.-P. Todt, "Antioch in the Middle Byzantine Period (969–1084): The Reconstruction of the City as an Administrative, Economic, Military and Ecclesiastical Center," in Cabouret, Gatier, and Saliou, *Antioche de Syrie* (n. 31 above), 182–84; see also idem, "Region und griechisch-orthodoxes Patriarchat von Antiocheia in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit (969–1084)," *BZ* 94, no. 1 (2009): 239–67; idem, "Region und griechisch-orthodoxes Patriarchat von Antiocheia in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit und im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge (969–1204)," *Habilitationsschrift Universität Mainz* 1998 (Wiesbaden, 2005); idem, "Das ökumenische Patriarchat von Konstantinopel und die griechisch-orthodoxen (melkitischen) Patriarchate unter muslimischer Herrschaft," *Historicum* 96 (Spring-Summer 2007): 54–61.

56 G. Dagron, "Minorités ethniques et religieuses dans l'Orient byzantin à la fin du X^e et au XI^e siècle: l'immigration syrienne," *TM* 6 (1976): 199, 205–8.

57 Cheynet, "Basil II and Asia Minor," 74.

989 by Leo Phokas, the Byzantines built the citadel on Mt. Staurin (*castellum aedificatum mirabile*), serving as a refuge for the city's inhabitants. The citadel was never successfully breached though the city was besieged by the Fātimids in 970, 992, 994, and 998, as well as by other groups, such as Turkish tribes from 1063 to 1067, Mirdāsids, and the Saljūqs in 1062.⁵⁸ The city's double walls, five gates located on the plain, and towers were refortified in 971, when John I Tzimiskes sent 12,000 workers to reconstruct the city's walls (along with its 136 towers) that were damaged by an earthquake.⁵⁹

Knowledge of the city from Arabic sources during this period comes mainly from the geographers—Istakhri, Ibn Ḥawqal, and Idrīsī⁶⁰—and also a letter written by Ibn Buṭlān, a Christian physician from Iraq, to Hilāl al-Ṣabī' in 1049 or 1058 and preserved in Yāqūt;⁶¹ Yaḥya b. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī (d. 1066), a Christian from Egypt who resided in the city;⁶² and an anonymous Arabic account of a Christian visitor to the city.⁶³ Rather than presenting Antioch as a parasite city that received all of its goods and trade from the hinterlands, numerous tenth-century authors suggest that it was a densely populated and self-sufficient, albeit contracted, settlement. Interestingly, though mentioning that it was the pleasantest place in Syria after Damascus, Istakhri declared that it had already started to weaken in the final days of Muslim rule and continued to do so during the Byzantine reconquest.

Ibn Buṭlān describes the city in greater detail; his letter is translated in Guy Le Strange's collection of medieval Arab geographers.⁶⁴ He states that the city

had a double circuit wall with five gates and 360 towers; its 4,000 patrol guards sent from Constantinople were changed every two years. The anonymous Christian Arabic account is similar, enumerating 365 towers, 365 ramparts, and five bronze gates.⁶⁵ Caution needs to be employed in using these numbers, as a recent survey of the city walls shows that they are exaggerated.⁶⁶ The citadel (*qal'a*) was at the summit of the mountain, and the al-Qusiyān church of St. Peter (a former bishop of Antioch), along with many other elaborately decorated churches, was in the center of the city. According to Ibn Buṭlān, the al-Qusiyān church was multifunctional: it had a chapel (*haykāl*) one hundred paces long and eighty paces wide, with the church built over it on columns, and it functioned as a court and school. It contained a kind of water clock (*klepsidra* or *finjān*), which he considered a wonder of the world. The church was equipped with servants, an office (*diwān*), and more than ten accountants. Le Strange notes that the original church (dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul) was built by Justinian. In 1050, the church was struck by lightning and this episode, as well as the church's interior, is described in great detail by Ibn Buṭlān.⁶⁷ He notes that on the slopes of Mt. Silpius and Mt. Staurin were five terraces, the fifth of which had baths and gardens that were fed by mountain streams, and in the city (presumably near a bathhouse) was a hospital (*bimāristan*) where the patriarch himself tended to the sick. The anonymous Christian Arab account confirms the presence of hospitals and ten bathhouses.⁶⁸

Tenth-century and later authors all spoke of cultivated fields (*mazāri'*), pasturage (*marā'*), trees (*ashjār*), mills (*ārḥiya*) along the Orontes River (called al-Maqlūb ["the Overturned"], al-Ārbāt, al-ʿAsī ["the

58 Todt, "Antioch in the Middle Byzantine Period," 176–79; M. Whitton, *The Making of Byzantium, 600–1025* (Berkeley, 1996), 380.

59 Todt, "Antioch in the Middle Byzantine Period," 180.

60 Istakhri, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik* (n. 18 above); Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-ard* (n. 18 above); Idrīsī, *Kitāb nuzhat al-mushtrāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq*, 2 vols. (Beirut, 1989), 2:245.

61 Ibn Buṭlān, quoted in Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān* (n. 18 above), 1:266–70.

62 Yaḥya b. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī, *al-Ma'rūf bi-Ṣilah Ta'rikh Ūtikhā* (Ṭarābulus, Lebanon, 1990). He was an Arab Melkite who immigrated to Antioch from Cairo to avoid persecution by the Fātimid caliph al-Hakim (996–1021).

63 W. F. Stinespring, "The Description of Antioch in Codex Vaticanus Arabicus 286" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1932). Not everyone believes this text belongs to the middle Byzantine period, however.

64 Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 374–75.

65 Stinespring, "Description of Antioch in Codex Vaticanus Arabicus 286," 7, lines 9–10 (Arabic text 142, lines 14–15).

66 The city walls were surveyed by a German-Turkish team led by G. Brands and H. Pamir. The walls had fewer than 100 towers. See the forthcoming doctoral dissertation on the city walls of Antioch by C. Brasse (Technische Universität Cottbus).

67 That the church continued to function is assumed from an account by Michael the Syrian, who states that the Saljūq Sulaymān b. Quṭlumush (1077–86), the cousin of Alp Arslan, took Antioch and turned the church into a mosque: Michael the Syrian, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien* (n. 13 above), 3:173.

68 For Ibn Buṭlān, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān* (Beirut, 1990), 1:136; Stinespring, "Description of Antioch in Codex Vaticanus Arabicus 286," 8, 12 (Arabic text 143, line 8; 145, lines 11–12).

Rebel”], or al-Urunt), gardens within the city walls (*basāṭīn*, *jannāt al-buqūl*), and channels drawing running water off the mountain (*miyā tatakhharraq*) and supplying it to all markets, streets, houses, and mosques. The anonymous account adds that in addition to mills there were two storehouses (*makhāzin*) built over the water channels that were used as granaries (*abrā’ al-ghalāt*) for farm products.⁶⁹ It further notes that the local ruler depopulated the towns (*mudūn*) and villages (*qarya*) around Antioch and transferred their inhabitants to the city, where they were given residences, shops, gardens, lands, and tax-free status for three years.⁷⁰ Although the date of this relocation is unclear, as the account is problematic and condenses the entire history of the city, it is likely the author’s time, the middle Byzantine period. All these descriptions indicate that the city consisted of both a contracted urban core and surrounding agricultural lands, which, rather than demonstrating marked decline, contributed to an overall level of self-sufficiency (*wa mā yastaqillā bihi ahlihā min marāfiqihā*).⁷¹

Reexcavating Princeton’s Excavations

The Princeton excavators throughout the city paid hardly any attention to the latest phases of occupation and excavated them in arbitrary levels, keeping only the museum-worthy glazed ceramics, coins, and inscriptions. A note in volume 1, on the 1932 excavations, states that no medieval pottery was brought back to the United States. This omission may reflect the excavators’ assumption that there was nothing significant left to find after the Byzantine period: “Ce n’est pas après l’invasion arabe qu’on s’est remis à construire en un tel appareil, avec un tel soin.”⁷² The motivations behind

Princeton’s methods were not unique; they were bound within certain cultural assumptions endemic in the 1930s.⁷³ Scholars privileged the Greco-Roman and early Christian world, and excavations of a high-profile site such as Antioch were seen as a way to learn more about this foundation of Western civilization and to bring its objects of known provenance to Western museums for study and display. Fortunately, there remain many ceramics, glass finds, and coins from the Byzantine and Islamic medieval periods awaiting analysis in storage at the Princeton University Art Museum and at Princeton’s Firestone Library, as well as a few objects at Cornell University. A major flaw in the Princeton publications is that the excavators perennially tried to link changes in occupational phases of the city with political changes or natural disasters. For example, Jean Lassus provides a wealth of useful analyses in considering the post-Byzantine periods. But after absolving the Islamic conquests—“Il n’est évidemment pas nécessaire de faire coïncider cette ruine et cette reconstruction avec l’arrivée des Arabes: encore faudrait-il trouver une autre circonstance”—he seems to shift the blame for destruction to the Persian conquests: “On peut se demander si ce n’est pas lors de l’épisode perse qu’elle a subi les destructions décisives que la fouille a révélées et qui ne paraissent pas pouvoir être imputée aux Arabes.”⁷⁴

Habib en Najjar,” in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 1, *The Excavations of 1932*, ed. G. W. Elderkin (Princeton, 1934), 99. See the contemporary guidebook for reverberations of this viewpoint: in *Antioch, centre de tourisme* (Paris, 1931), 323. P. Jacquot lists the monuments of the city chronologically by ruler, though he justifies skipping the period from Justinian to the Crusades entirely because of the city’s calamitous past.

73 See J. A. Welu, “From Antioch to Worcester: The Pursuit of an Ancient City,” in *The Arts of Antioch: Art Historical and Scientific Approaches to Roman Mosaics and a Catalogue of the Worcester Art Museum Antioch Collection*, ed. L. Becker and C. Kondoleon (Worcester, MA, 2005), 4–5, and the review by G. Brands in *JbAC* 50 (2007): 241–47. See K. Weitzmann, “The Contribution of the Princeton University Department of Art and Archaeology to the Study of Byzantine Art,” in *Byzantium at Princeton: Byzantine Art and Archaeology at Princeton University*, ed. S. Curcic and A. St. Clair (Princeton, 1986), 11–30, esp. 15 on Charles Rufus Morey, the main organizer, patron, and fundraiser for the Antioch excavations. See also C. S. Wood, “Art History’s Normative Renaissance,” in *The Italian Renaissance in the Twentieth Century*, Acts of an International Conference, Florence, Villa I Tatti, 1999, ed. A. J. Grieco, M. Rocke, and F. G. Superbi (Florence, 2002), 68–69.

74 “It is obviously not necessary to match this ruin and this reconstruction with the arrival of the Arabs: it is still necessary to find

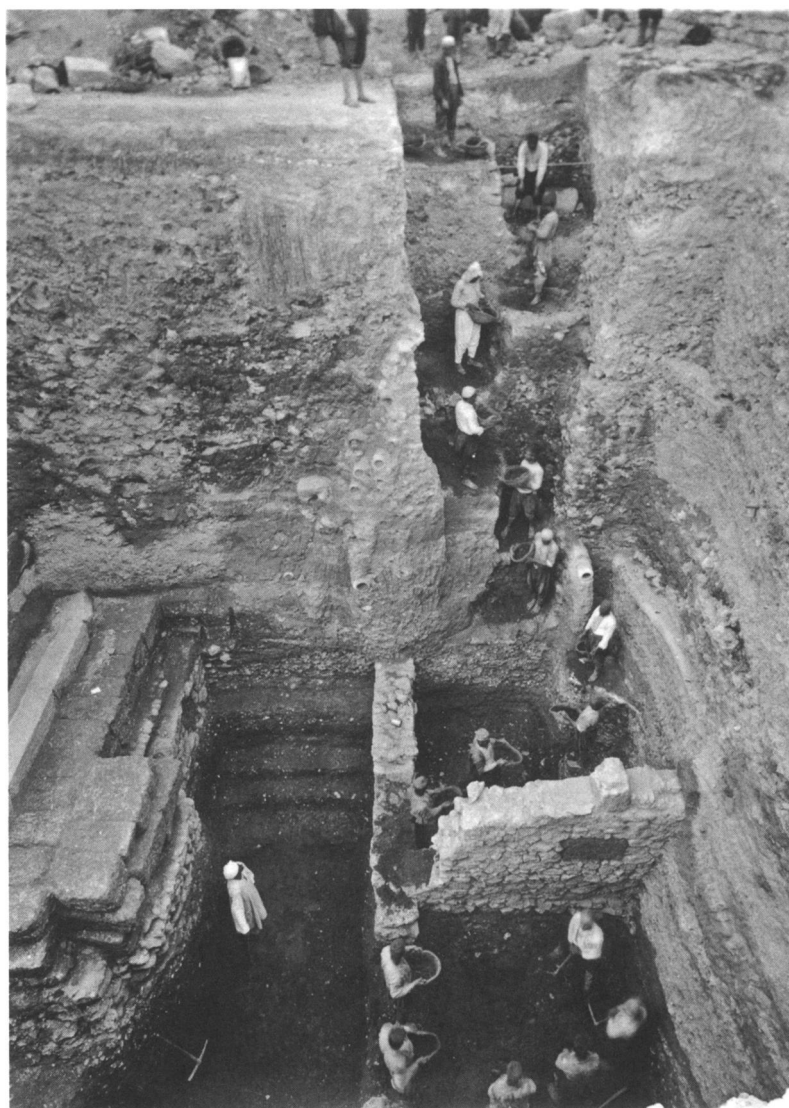
69 Stinespring, “Description of Antioch in Codex Vaticanus Arabicus 286,” 11 (Arabic text 144, lines 18–19).

70 Ibid., 10 (Arabic text, 143, line 25).

71 Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb ṣūrat al-ard*, 165; Istakhrī, *Kitāb masālik al-mamālik*, 62; Idrīsī, *Kitāb nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq*, 2:245; Ibn Buṭlān, quoted in Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-Buldān* (1955–57 ed.), 2:266–70. To this Ibn Shaddād, writing between 1272 and 1281, adds open spaces and channeled mountain streams in the vicinity of its city walls; Ibn Shaddād, *al-Ālāq al-khaṭīra fī dhikr umarā’ al-shām wa’l-jazīra*, 3 vols. in 6 (Damascus, 1956–91), 2:354; see also Kennedy, “Antioch: From Byzantium to Islam” (n. 45 above), 192, 194.

72 “It is not after the Arab invasion that one started to build such a display with such care”: J. Lassus, “Sondage Près de la Mosquée

FIG. 2.
Deep sedimentation visible in
Antioch excavations (photo
courtesy of the Committee for the
Excavations of Antioch-on-the-
Orontes 1932–1939 archaeological
archive and collection, Department
of Art and Archaeology, Princeton
University [hereafter “Antioch
archaeological archive”])



The current state of archaeological research of the post-Roman city contributes to the vicious circle. Although an earlier grid plan is still evident in the modern city, as it was in the medieval city, few remains are visible in Antakya today apart from parts of the aqueduct, the citadel, a hippodrome, temple, and the city wall.⁷⁵

another occasion”; “One wonders if it is not ever since the Persian episode that [Antioch] suffered decisive destruction, which is revealed in the excavation and which was not able to be attributed to the Arabs”: J. Lassus, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 5, *Les Portiques d'Antioche* (Princeton, 1972), 136 n. 43, from C. Cahen, personal communication.

⁷⁵ On the ancient grid system and its reconstruction, see G. Brands, “Hellenistic Antioch-on-the-Orontes: A Status Quo,” *Anadolu ve*

Heavy sedimentation (see fig. 2) and modern sprawl (see fig. 3) are mainly responsible for obscuring most of the premodern city. Antioch’s topography has always presented some environmental challenges to the city, as its location along a narrow valley between the flood-prone Orontes River and the base of high mountains has led to alluviation and colluviation. However, heavy sedimentation does not and did not occur throughout the city. It was limited only to the northern and central slopes of Mt. Silpius (though less well attested below Mt. Staurin) and along the banks of the Orontes and Parmenius

Çevresinde Ortaçağ 4 (2010): 1–18, which shows at least two grid systems for the city.



FIG. 3 Urban sprawl of Antioch as seen from the citadel (photo by author)

Rivers.⁷⁶ Lassus draws attention to the difficulty in digging stratigraphically in these areas. Concerning 16-P on the Parmenius, he states: “Dans un sondage de 30 m. sur 10, il n’est pas possible de prétendre, sur toute sa longueur, descendre à la même vitesse, et s’arrêter en cours de route à chaque niveau historique. Le bouleversement des couches archéologiques, dans le sous-sol d’Antioche, est si complet que c’est seulement après coup qu’on peut raccorder telle constatation à telle autre[.]”⁷⁷ An urban survey run by a German-Turkish team between

2004 and 2009 has contributed greatly to our knowledge of the urban plan and topography.⁷⁸ The team has

76 G. Brands and U. Weferling, “Ein neuer topographischer Stadtplan für Antiochia am Orontes” (publication in process).

77 “In a sounding of 30 by 10 meters, it is not possible to aspire, in all its length, to go down at the same speed and stop along the way at each historical level. The disturbance of archaeological layers, below the ground of Antioch, is so complete that it is only in section that one can link one observation to another”: Lassus, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 5, *Les Portiques d’Antioche*, 52.

78 H. Pamir and G. Brands, “The Asi Delta and Valley Archaeological Project in 2004: Samandağ and Antakya Surveys,” *Anadolu Akdenizi Arkeoloji Haberleri* 3 (2005): 103–9; eidem, “Asi Deltası ve Asi Vadisi Arkeoloji Projesi Antiocheia, Seleucia Pieria ve Sabuniye Yüzey Araştırmaları 2004 Yılı Çalışmaları,” *AST* 23, no. 2 (2006): 89–102; G. Brands and C. Meyer, “Antioch-on-the-Orontes and Seleucia Pieria 2004: Preliminary Results of the Geophysical Survey,” *Arkeometri Sonuçları Toplantısı* 21 (2005): 149–54; H. Pamir and G. Brands, “Asi Deltası ve Asi Vadisi Arkeolojisi Projesi Antakya ve Samandağ Yüzey Araştırmaları 2005,” *AST* 24, no. 2 (2007): 397–418; H. Pamir, G. Brands, and F. Çevirici, “Hatay İli, Antakya, Samandağ ve Yayladağı Yüzey Araştırması 2006,” *AST* 25, no. 3 (2008): 393–412; H. Pamir, G. Brands, and S. Nishiyama, “Hatay İli, Antakya ve Samandağ Yüzey Araştırmaları 2007,” *AST* 26, no. 3 (2009): 1–12; H. Pamir, “Hatay İli Antakya, Samandağ, Altınözü ve Yayladağı Yüzey Araştırmaları 2009,” *AST* 28, no. 3 (2010): 371–98; H. Pamir and İ. Yamaç, “Hatay Yüzey Araştırmaları

FIG. 4.
 Google Earth image from 2010 of
 Antäkiya, showing the area north of the
 Parmenius and south of the Orontes
 River where the two hippodromes
 are surrounded by agricultural fields
 (Google Earth Image, 8 March 2012;
 Orontes River channel drawn from
 CORONA image, 31 July 1969;
 Parmenius River channel drawn from
 Princeton excavations map, *Antioch-
 on-the-Orontes*, vol. 2, p. 215 [see n. 81];
 city walls based on forthcoming map
 by G. Brands and U. Weferling, “Ein
 neuer topographischer Stadtplan für
 Antiochia” [see n. 76]; dashed city
 walls conjectured by author)



produced a completely new map that contains more than one thousand findspots, including postclassical material from both the recent survey and the Princeton excavations.⁷⁹ It replaces the most commonly used map for Antioch—that of Donald N. Wilber and Glanville Downey, first published in 1938 and reprinted in 1961, which is “based on the literary texts and excavations.”⁸⁰

zolo Antakya, Samandağ, Yayladağı ve Altınözü,” *AST* 29, no. 2 (2011): 361–78.

79 Brands and Weferling, “Ein neuer topographischer Stadtplan für Antiochia am Orontes.”

80 Downey, *History of Antioch in Syria* (n. 11 above), plate 11; for Wilber’s map, see C. R. Morey, *The Mosaics of Antioch* (New

York, 1938), 17. This is not the only map of the city, however. See G. Uggeri, “L’urbanistica di Antiochia sull’Oronte,” *Journal of Ancient Topography* 8 (1998): 179–222; W. Hoepfner, “Antiochia die Große: Geschichte einer antiken Stadt,” *Antike Welt* 35, no. 2 (2004): 6; C. O. Müller, *Antiquitates Antiochenae* (Göttingen, 1839); M. Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1825), 264–65; E. G. Rey, *Les Colonies franques de Syrie aux XII^{me} et XIII^{me} siècles* (Paris, 1883), 326–27.

diverted Orontes, and the location of the enclosing city walls and gates, no longer extant, that were on the plain. At the same time, many areas from the 1930s excavations have the potential for reevaluation. A cursory examination of Princeton's published excavation volumes (relying on their dating),⁸¹ brief reanalysis of the Princeton finds, and limited survey work undertaken in the city make it possible to detect three overlapping zones of occupation and use. Along the *cardo*, these zones transition from residential to commercial/industrial (and funerary) to agricultural (and funerary), as presented below, with several caveats. The observations here depict the city in broad brushstrokes, covering four centuries; because the excavations and ceramics were published separately and not linked, chronology must remain general until further study of the Princeton materials is completed (see table 1).⁸²

As shown primarily from excavations along the main colonnaded street, new construction took place on the former *cardo*. In almost every area along the street there were post-Byzantine (whether post-Justinianic or late seventh-century) levels for early Islamic and middle Byzantine occupations, often characterized by commercial and industrial use as the street was transformed and was encroached on (see fig. 5). Lassus states that the main colonnaded street was greatly damaged by the earthquakes of 526 and 528 and repaved during Justinian's program (as described by Procopius), during which the street was narrowed slightly, raised, and equipped with drainage systems; after a fire in 540, it was abandoned

and fell into decline.⁸³ The street was again a focus of activity during the mid-seventh-century transition; an analysis of the coins minted between 565 and 668 shows that overall, activity decreased and condensed into areas along the *cardo*.⁸⁴ The street was not wholly abandoned; rather, as the excavators note, the street shifted west in places (such as 19-M and 16-P) and smaller buildings made of reused materials were constructed after the Islamic conquests that encroached upon it, often built directly on the Justinianic pavement.⁸⁵ Kennedy and Liebeschuetz challenged this claim, using contemporary evidence from Gerasa/Jarash, Pella/Fahl, and Apamea/Afāmiya to argue that the encroachment of buildings onto the colonnaded street had already taken place before the Islamic conquests.⁸⁶ Jodi Magness has reassessed the evidence and contends that the discovery beneath the paved street of post-Justinianic coins of the first half of the seventh century suggests a mid- to late seventh-century date for the reconstruction of the street that argues against "decline," though not necessarily contraction.⁸⁷ Further, the redating of the street would challenge assumptions that the last major reconstruction effort in Antioch was under Justinian.

81 Elderkin, ed., *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 1, *The Excavations of 1932*; R. Stillwell, ed., *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 2, *The Excavations of 1933–1936* (Princeton, 1938); idem, ed., *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 3, *The Excavations of 1937–1939* (Princeton, 1941); F. O. Waagé, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 4, part 1, *Ceramics and Islamic Coins* (Princeton, 1948); D. B. Waagé, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 4, part 2, *Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusaders' Coins* (Princeton, 1952); Lassus, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 5, *Les Portiques d'Antioche*.

82 A pilot study currently under way is showing the potential benefits from close examination of material culture contextualized within stratigraphy that is reconstructed from all periods, Hellenistic through late medieval. The sector on which it focuses is 17-O, along the main colonnaded street, which was not published by Lassus in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 5, *Les Portiques d'Antioche*. In a joint venture between Princeton University and Halle-Wittenberg University in Germany, a team of scholars is working with the materials and archives at Princeton University.

83 Lassus, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 5, *Les Portiques d'Antioche*, 8–9, 35.

84 E. Kirkegaard, "The Coins of Constans II from the Excavations at Antioch," paper presented at the International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, 10–12 May 2012.

85 Lassus, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 5, *Les Portiques d'Antioche*, 8–10, 65, for shifts in the street. See also H. Kennedy and J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, "Antioch and the Villages of Northern Syria in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries A.D.: Trends and Problems," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 32 (1988): 65–66.

86 Kennedy and Liebeschuetz, "Antioch and the Villages of Northern Syria," 66; in his earlier work, Liebeschuetz (*Antioch: City and Imperial Administration* [n. 3 above], 264) still held that despite these constructions, the "regular geometrical street plan of Antioch was maintained to the end of the Byzantine period," ultimately relying on Lassus's conclusion. For complementary examples of the reorganization of the late antique urban grid, see G. Brands, "Old and New Order—City and Territorium of Ruṣāfa after the Islamic Conquest," in *Le Proche-Orient de Justinien aux Abbassides: Peuplement et dynamiques spatiales*, ed. A. Borrut, M. Debié, A. Papaconstantinou, D. Pieri, and J.-P. Sodini, Actes du colloque "Continuités de l'occupation entre les périodes byzantine et abbasside au Proche-Orient, VII^e–IX^e siècles," Paris, 18–20 octobre 2007, Bibliothèque de l'Antiquité Tardive 19 (Turnhout, 2011), 59–76.

87 J. Magness, *The Archaeology of the Early Islamic Settlement in Palestine* (Winona Lake, IN, 2003), 206–9.

TABLE I. Summary of Antioch excavations

SECTOR (FINDS)	YEAR	PUBLICATION VOLUME	ALTERNATE NAME
11-L/M (Hippodrome B)	1932	1	Stadium, Tower sondage
9/10-L (Bath A, painted tomb)	1932, 1933	1, 2	
House A	1932	1	
10/11-L/M (Bath C, quarry/ lime kiln)	1932	1	
7/8-O/N (Hippodrome A, cemetery)	1932, 1933, 1934	1, 2	Circus
21-K (street, skewed bldg.)	1932	1, 5	Main Street Dig I
22-K	1934	2, 5	Mosque of Habib al-Najjar
21/22-J	1932	5	
Church at Daphne	1932	1	
13-R (Bath F, workshops)	1934, 1935, 1936, 1938, 1939	2, 3	Also 13-P
19-M (street, domestic residences)	1932, 1934	2, 5	Main Street Dig III Soap Factory
17-N	1934, 1937	2, 5	Main Street Dig VI
18-O/P (theater, workshops)	1935, 1936	2	
12/13-F/G (Church of Kaioussié)	1935, 1936	2	
16-O (street, workshops, necropolis)	1936, 1937?, 1938, 1939	2, 3, 5	Main Street Digs IV, VII, VIII
16-P (nymphaeum, walls, cemetery, church)	1936, 1937, 1939	2, 3, 5	Main Street Dig V
17-O (edge of Forum of Valens, street, market, workshops)	1937, 1939	3	Also 17-P
DH-27-O (Daphne)	1937, 1938	3	
Narlica	1938	3	

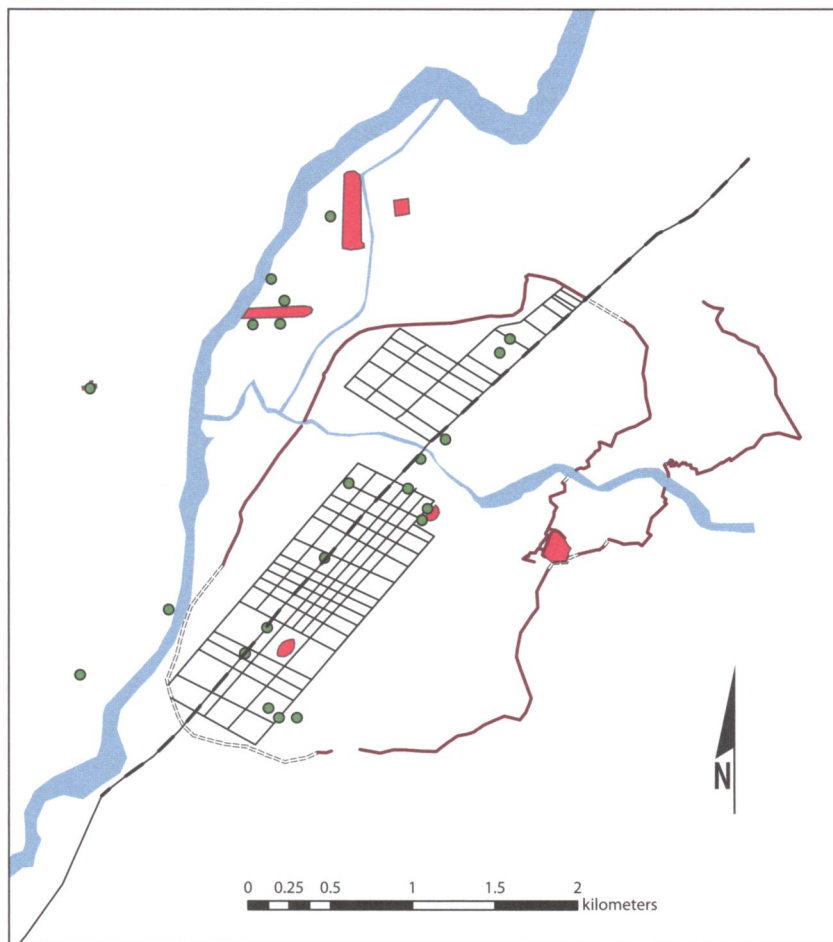


FIG. 5.
Map of Antioch showing main cardo and Princeton excavation sectors discussed in this article (prepared by author; partial street system inferred from visible orthogonal traces in modern city; Orontes River channel drawn from CORONA image, 31 July 1969; Parmenius River channel drawn from Princeton excavations map, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 2, p. 215; city walls based on forthcoming map by Brands and Weferling; dashed city walls conjectured by author)

While Magness's conclusion is likely, the coin evidence and stratigraphic contexts are problematic and need to be used cautiously. They must be studied comprehensively before the date of the street can be determined.⁸⁸ Colonnaded streets and orthogonal planning are known from the Umayyad period, and parallels occur at other preexisting cities such as Arsūf, Baysān, Tadmur, and Ḥimṣ, as well as new foundations such as 'Anjar.⁸⁹ In addition, encroachment may have already occurred in the fourth century: the contemporary account of Libanius mentions tents (*skēnās*) and huts (*kalūbas*) of artisans filling in between the colonnades. These gradually became permanent and authorized, as the owners of these shops were required to

pay rent to the city.⁹⁰ A scene from the border of the mid-fifth- to early sixth-century Megalopsychia Hunt mosaic found in the village of Yakto near Daphne/Dafnā shows merchants selling goods within the portico.⁹¹ Encroachment of shops and houses on the colonnaded street from the fourth to seventh centuries can similarly be seen in Jarash, for example.⁹² Nevertheless, the colonnaded street would have been a commercial artery traversing and linking together the religious, residential, industrial, and agricultural zones of the city.

88 See n. 81.

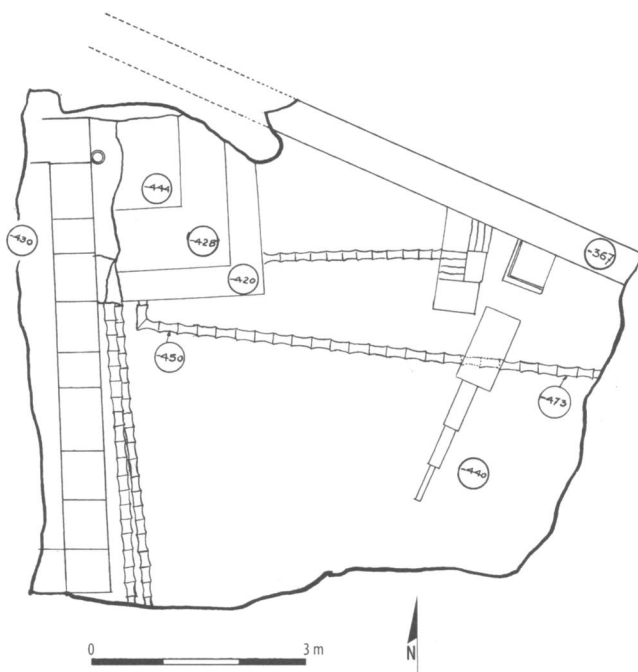
89 R. Foote, "Commerce, Industrial Expansion, and Orthogonal Planning," *Mediterranean Archaeology* 13 (2000): 28–32.

90 Libanius, *Or.* 26.20, 21; Saradi, *Byzantine City* (n. 6 above), 188.

91 J. Lassus, "La mosaïque de Yakto," in Elderkin, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 1, *The Excavations of 1932*, 114–56. For a detail from the mosaic, see A. Gonosová, "City and the People," in Kondoleon, *Antioch: The Lost Ancient City* (n. 1 above), 114 (middle image); F. Cimok, ed., *Antioch Mosaics: A Corpus* (Istanbul, 2000), 271. For dating, see C. Kondoleon, "Mosaic of the Worcester Hunt," in Becker and Kondoleon, *The Arts of Antioch* (n. 73 above), 232–23.

92 Saradi, *Byzantine City*, 280–82.

FIG. 6.
21-J excavations, corner of
middle Byzantine fountain
and pipes cut by later wall,
facing north (photo and
plan courtesy of the Antioch
archaeological archive)



Religious Zone

At the heart of the Islamic city would have been the mosque. Mas'ūdī—strangely, for an Islamic writer—does not describe or identify the mosque but mentions only its adjacent crypt. It is likely that the center of the medieval city where the mosque was did not shift but is almost totally buried underneath the core of the modern city. This surmise is supported by the street plan.⁹³ Some have speculated that it should be identified with the mosque of Habib al-Najjar (and the deep crypt that was his tomb), still in use today.⁹⁴ Soundings in sectors 21-K, 22-K, and 22-J (Main Street Dig I) along the mosque of Habib al-Najjar have revealed at least four medieval levels (an eleventh-century coin in Level IV of 21-K) and glazed pottery in the upper levels.⁹⁵ The lowest of the medieval

93 P. Pinon, “Permanences et transformations dans la topographie d'Antioche après l'Antiquité,” in Cabouret, Gatier, and Saliou, *Antioche de Syrie* (n. 31 above), 191–219.

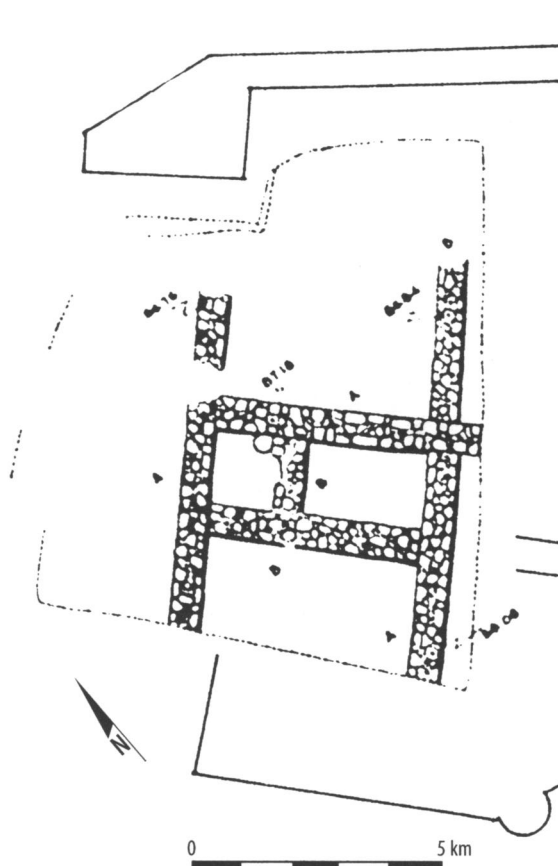
94 Habib al-Najjar, the carpenter, is associated with Agabus of the Acts of the Apostles (11:28; 21:10) and is indirectly referred to in the Qur'an (36:12–26). The association of the mosque of Habib al-Najjar and the original mosque reportedly built by Abū 'Ubayda in 638 appears in descriptions of the city in many tourist guides. See, e.g., U. Yenipinar, *Antiocheia* (İzmir, 2010), 237, and Z. Sarı, *Hatay'da tarihi ve turistik yerler* (Antakya, 2009), 47.

95 Lassus, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 5, *Les Portiques d'Antioche*, 13–14 (22-J), 15 (22-K).



FIG. 7.
22-K excavations, Level I
building, facing northeast
with in situ jar visible in the
far right (northeast) corner
of the small room on the left
(photo and plan courtesy of
the Antioch archaeological
archive)

phases—Level VIII, presumably the early Islamic layer—rested upon a sixth-century Justinianic or earlier Byzantine public fountain or plaza pavement. Above, in 21/22-J, the uppermost levels contained drains and pipes running under the most recent buildings. Level VI and Level VII contained an eleventh-century Byzantine fountain cut by a later wall (see fig. 6). Lassus noted an astonishing 4 meters of deposition between the post-Byzantine reconquest layer and the Mamlūk destruction layer in 1268. In the 1934 excavation diary for 22-K, the excavators recorded the large quantity of glazed “Turkish and Arabic pottery.”⁹⁶ An interesting observation is that the majority of Port St. Symeon Crusader-period pottery detected from the boxed material, of which there was little overall, comes from 22-K. Although no kilns were explicitly mentioned, these presumably would have been associated with an excavated building consisting of two parallel walls and small rooms between them in Level I (see fig. 7). The smallest of these rooms had a jar in situ in the northeast corner. Atypical of the Byzantine reconquest phase of the city, the later wall in 21/22-J and building in 22-K were not orthogonally oriented, a feature that may suggest their close association



96 The diary is in the Antioch archives in the Visual Resources Collection, Department of Art and Archaeology, at Princeton University.

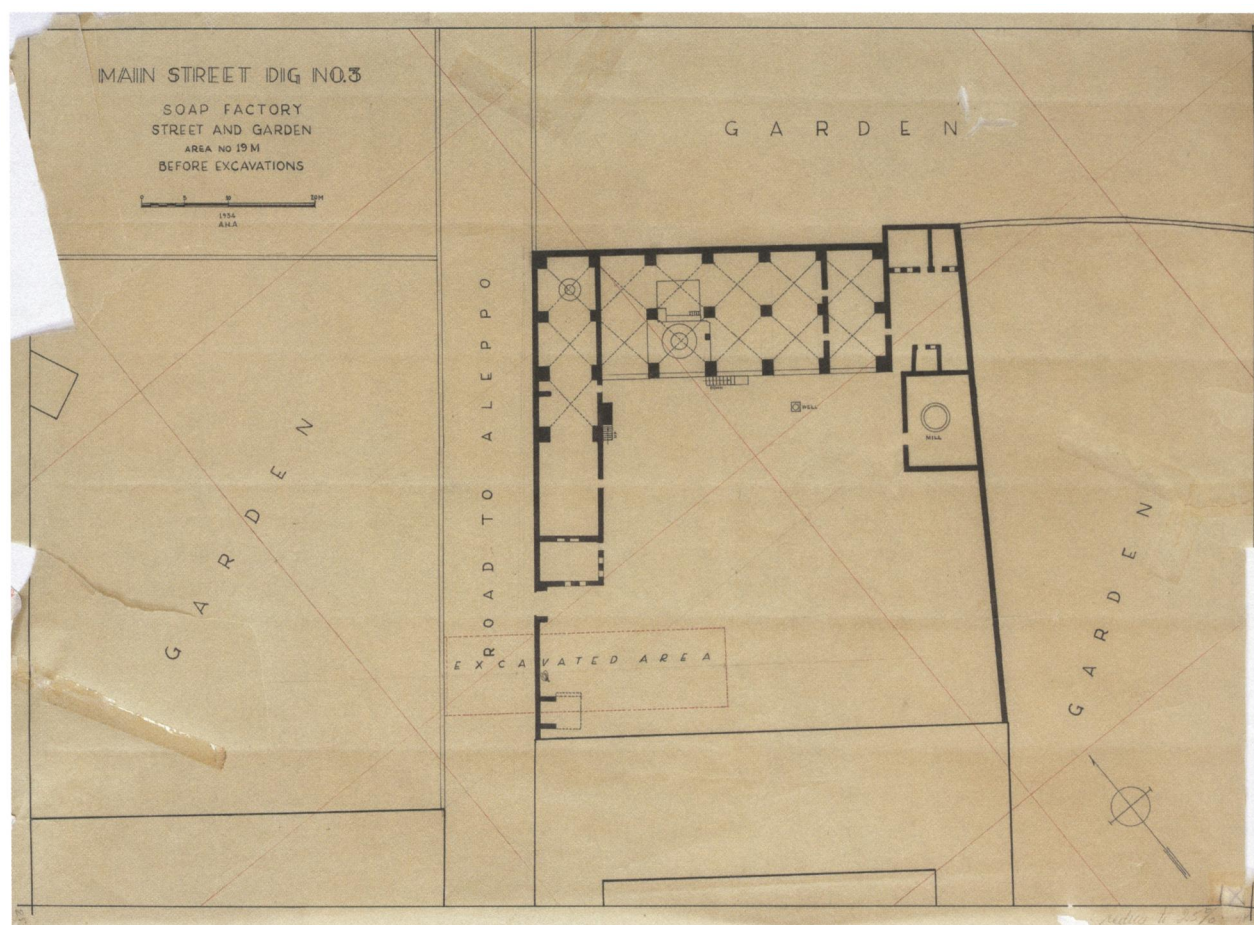


FIG. 8. 19-M excavations (plan courtesy of the Antioch archaeological archive)

with the continuing (or former) mosque oriented toward Mecca.⁹⁷

Residential Zone

The area of 19-M (Main Street Dig III), a soap factory closer to the urban core and near the mosque of Habib al-Najjar, reveals a residential and domestic sector (see fig. 8). Three post-Byzantine occupational and architectural levels consisted of a kitchen with ovens and wells, large walls, and pipes.⁹⁸ Level II, better preserved

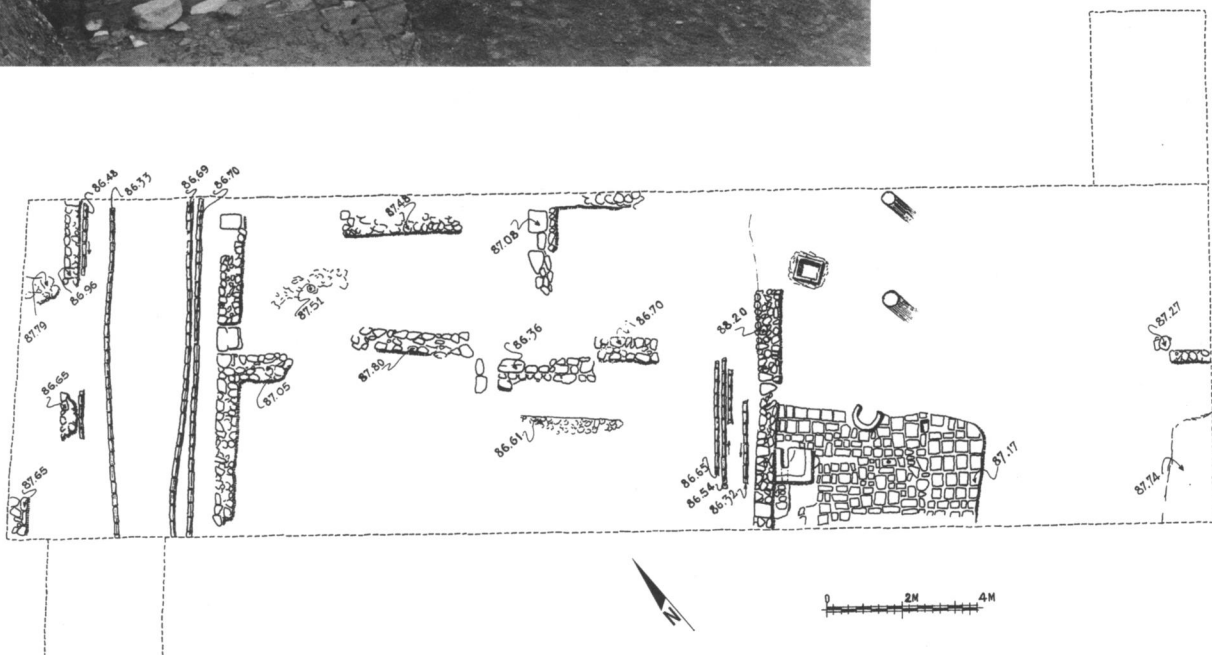
than Level I, was subdivided into three subphases. Level IIa had marble columns in situ. Level IIb was a kitchen with a pavement that included marble flooring and a series of rectangular wells (see fig. 9). Presumably in one of these wells was found a cache of intact pottery, including many two-handled amphorae and one-handled pitchers of cream ware, smaller amphorae of coarse brick red ware, a cooking pot, and a glazed bowl (see fig. 10). The assemblage, dominated by storage vessels but also containing cooking wares, smaller tablewares, and a single piece of fine ware, is indicative of domestic use. From the photograph alone it is difficult to correctly identify any individual vessel. However, the cooking pot seems to have a vertical wall with triangular ledge handles, resembling black burnished variations found mainly at Țarsūs and also Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt and likely dating to the ninth or tenth

97 Lassus, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 5, *Les Portiques d'Antioche*, 14.

98 Interestingly, they contained hardly any coins of Heraclius or Constans II, suggesting that this part of the city was somehow transformed and was developed in the early Islamic period (from the 8th/9th centuries) onward: Kirkegaard, "Coins of Constans II."



FIG. 9.
19-M Level IIb kitchen,
facing north with
rectangular wells visible in
center and marble flooring;
marble columns on the right
are from Level IIa (photo
and plan courtesy of the
Antioch archaeological
archive)



centuries.⁹⁹ The bowl, described as polychrome painted maroon and beige, was dated by Jean Sauvaget to the tenth century; the assemblage, according to the excavators, dates to the Byzantine reconquest because the houses built over the wells were dated to the eleventh century by coins.¹⁰⁰ The bowl, a polychrome luster ware

lacking sgraffiato and with a small everted rim, might date to as early as the ninth century¹⁰¹ (see fig. 11). The third subphase, IIIC, had three round pits and a series of pipes also dated to the tenth–twelfth centuries. The

99 A. Eger, *The Spaces between the Teeth: A Gazetteer of Towns on the Islamic-Byzantine Frontier* (Istanbul, 2011), 169.

100 Lassus, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 5, *Les Portiques d'Antioche*, 24; Waagé, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 4, part 1, 89,

103, fig. 47.

101 The sherd is in the Princeton University Art Museum collection. It has a close parallel to a polychrome luster ware found in Fuṣṭāt in the Ashmolean Museum, accession number EAP 60, dated to the 9th century from Iraq (<http://jameelcentre.ashmolean.org/object/EAP.60>)



FIG. 10. 19-M Level IIb, early Islamic cache (photo courtesy of the Antioch archaeological archive)

FIG. 11.
Polychrome lusterware
fragment from the
Princeton University Art
Museum collection (photo
taken by author, courtesy
of the Princeton University
Art Museum)



uppermost level (Level I) contained rubblestone walls, carefully aligned, with block headers placed at intervals; four pithoi; and glazed blue or yellow-brown pottery, with a succession of street pavements, including some of packed clay with sewage systems. Also in this area, excavators unearthed five Arabic gravestones, two of which dated to the late ninth century. The residence in the ninth and tenth centuries may have been a rather wealthy one, given its kitchen with marble columns and paving. Nevertheless, this area, close to but still north of the urban core and near the main colonnaded street, was densely settled in the early Islamic and medieval periods; it held both residential and industrial zones, sewage systems, and interspersed cemeteries.

Commercial and Industrial Zone

In sector 17-O, thought to be perched on the edge of the Forum of Valens, one can trace the transformation of urban public space. While little is known of the lower levels (Lassus excludes 17-O from his later volume on streets), the upper levels were a mass of walls, floor levels, water pipes or drains, and a medieval structure built on a basalt pavement, as well as a round brick pottery kiln with a rubble backing, wasters, and conical clay props. Several types of ceramics wasters marked by polychrome glaze (color splash) with sgraffiato attest to local production and a continuous use of this space as a potters' quarter. A waster of an opaque turquoise glaze on a yellow body was found near the kiln. Clay rods or kiln spacers with bits of glaze dripping down at one or both ends, used in ceramic production, were also found in the vicinity. The prevalence of this ware (another waster was found in 16-O) led Frederick O. Waagé to consider it locally produced.¹⁰² Another sign of local production is the presence of many examples of Aegean-/Byzantine-influenced yellow glazed, incised, scraped, and gouged "champlevé" pottery along with a waster.¹⁰³ Exact dates

are uncertain for this complex; the ceramics range from the seventh to the twelfth/thirteenth centuries with very few fourteenth-century examples, if any.¹⁰⁴ Champlevé and turquoise fritwares make up the latest pottery and typically are dated to the twelfth/thirteenth centuries; but the almost complete absence of Port St. Symeon wares may suggest a twelfth-century date for the former two ceramic types in the Crusader period. Many mold-made almond-shaped buff oil lamps, with relief decoration and nearly identical, suggesting that they were made to be sold, date to the transitional sixth/seventh centuries and parallel the incidence of many seventh-century coins.¹⁰⁵ The presence of numerous 'Abbāsid ceramics (Syrian yellow glazes, color splash wares, molded buff wares, and brittle wares) and coins strongly attests to continued use until the tenth century, while polychrome sgraffiato likely suggest that manufacture was probably maintained into the eleventh. Fāṭimid-style luster wares from Egypt and a glass weight, also likely Fāṭimid, suggest connections to the southern Islamic lands during the Byzantine reoccupation of the city. The latest coin found under the oven (or associated with its removal) was from the late eleventh or early twelfth century (ca. 1085–1114); though Saljūq, it may have continued in circulation during the Crusader occupation of Antioch. Assuming that the identification of this area with the Forum of Valens is correct, it is quite plausible that by the Islamic period and perhaps slightly earlier, any significant open spaces were filled in. Already in the fourth century, Libanius comments on the presence of multiple markets in Antioch, as does Procopius in his description of Justinian's renovations of *agorai*.¹⁰⁶ In the sixth century, archaeological evidence shows a widespread shift in the function of the

material which must be a regional product and (b) a few importations of Aegean type."

104 The following observations are preliminary remarks sketched on the general nature and dating of the Islamic/middle Byzantine ceramics that have yet to be properly contextualized. This is part of the ongoing "17-O Pilot Study." I am grateful to Tasha Vorderstrasse, responsible for the middle and late Islamic ceramic analysis, for her insights and collaboration. I also am indebted to the Princeton University Art Museum and specifically to Michael Padgett, curator of ancient art, for allowing me to examine the entire collection. Photographs and drawings of ceramics will be forthcoming in the 17-O Pilot Study publication.

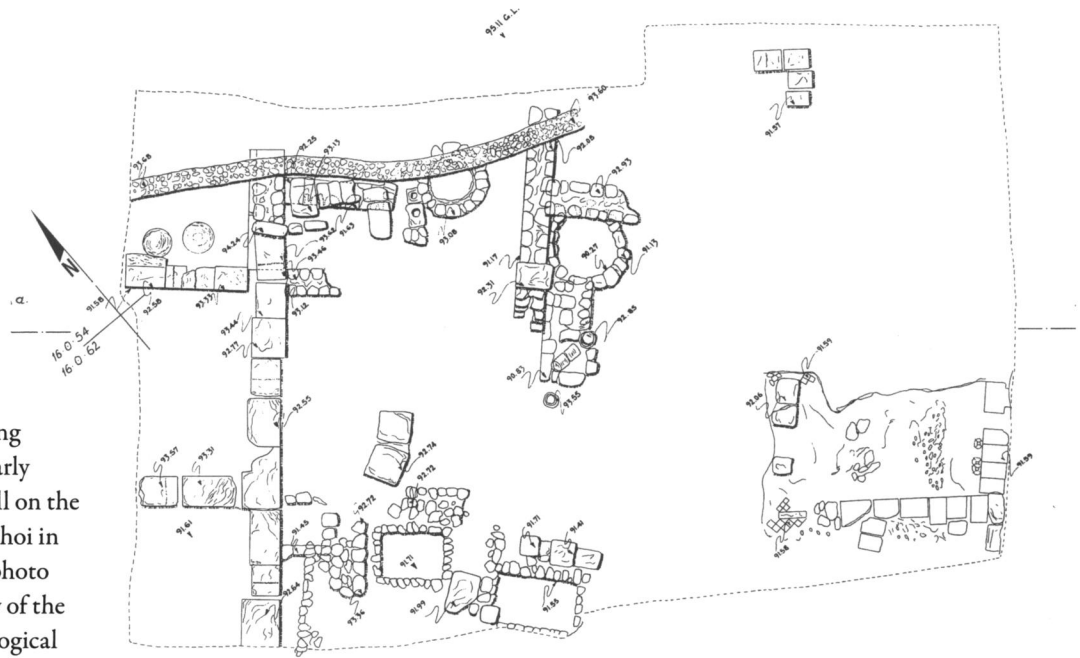
105 Kirkegaard, "Coins of Constans II."

106 Libanius, *Or.* 11, in *Libanii Opera*, ed. and trans. R. Foerster (1903–27; repr. Hildesheim, 1963), 2.1.52.6.2–10; Procopius, *De aedificiis* 2.10.22, ed. Dewing (n. 4 above), 170.22–23.

102 Waagé, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 4, part 1, *Ceramics and Islamic Coins*, 102.

103 Ibid., 99. Waagé considers this (XIIC 2a: Antiochene Style) "the commonest single type of medieval pottery at Antioch; its frequency is as great as that of the group of varieties under VIF4 and 5 [polychrome/color splash sgraffiato], or of the combined mass of the related groups VIB2, D1 and G3 [Syrian yellow glaze and color splash variances]. Despite this, it is remarkably uniform in all particulars so that it must have been a widely-used type for a relatively short time rather than the reverse. The only sub-divisions into which it falls readily are the two comprising (a) the far greater mass of the

FIG. 12.
16-O Level I, facing
southwest with early
Islamic ashlar wall on the
left and in situ pithoi in
the foreground (photo
and plan courtesy of the
Antioch archaeological
archive)



agora or forum from serving as an administrative center to being one of the marketplaces of the city.¹⁰⁷ In the early Islamic period, it seems likely that this space developed further from a commercial zone into an important industrial zone (as occurred in nearby Ḥimṣ): a sūq, with workshops attached to retail shops along the main street.¹⁰⁸ After the twelfth century, however, there was no new construction along the main road.

Excavations in 1936 uncovered an area of workshops and kilns to either side of the Parmenius mountain torrent, further away from the city's core. Again, early Islamic phases appeared directly over the presumed Justinianic pavements. In 16-O South (Main Street Digs IV, VII, and VIII), Level I (93.00–91.50 m.a.s.l. [meters above sea level]) revealed a large well-built wall of cut ashlar and two perpendicular walls resting on 91.22 m.a.s.l. (see fig. 12).¹⁰⁹ The walls were made of reused

107 Saradi, *Byzantine City*, 211–58.

108 The agora at Ḥimṣ was first a campground for Islamic troops before becoming the Sūq al-Rastān in the 8th century. This is part of the process, seen throughout the Levant, by which the new Muslim or transferred non-Muslim population occupied the abandoned or empty parts of a preexisting city. For more on Ḥimṣ and this process, see P. Wheatley, *The Places Where Men Pray Together: Cities in Islamic Lands, Seventh through the Tenth Centuries* (Chicago, 2011), 293–94. But Antioch's sector 16-P had shops, as recorded by Lassus, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 5, *Les Portiques d'Antioche*, 64–65.

109 Lassus, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 5, *Les Portiques d'Antioche*, 89–90.

blocks, altered and embellished slightly, and the stones were of different sizes and placed randomly as headers and stretchers. There were also two pithoi, the remains of pavement (92.29–91.72 m.a.s.l.), a marble basin, and a network of terra-cotta pipes, several of which were vertical (perhaps drainpipes). The excavators recorded glazed pottery in white, yellow, green, blue, cobalt, turquoise, and brown, specifically noting the presence of yellow and green glazes without sgraffiato—these last perhaps were Syrian yellow glaze wares from the late eighth to early ninth centuries. Many unglazed sphero-conical vessels and several wasters also were found. This area, dated to the early Islamic period, had a domestic or industrial function that continued from the sixth and seventh centuries.¹¹⁰ Also, 16-O North revealed monumental walls, yellow terra-cotta vertical pipes, and a jar inserted into a floor, which was similarly dated to the early Islamic period.¹¹¹ The area transformed: above both areas was the middle Byzantine level (Level II) consisting of an eleventh-century pavement and necropolis.

North of the stream, 16-P (Main Street Dig V) revealed an early Islamic level consisting of terra-cotta pipes that continued from the early Byzantine period and a wall made of alternating brick and rubblestone with a limestone facing on one side. The wall, along with ceramic pipes below it, sits on the edge of and above the Justinianic pavement and, according to the excavators, “représente sans doute une transformation des traditions romaines et byzantines.”¹¹² Coin evidence shows continuous activity in 16-P during the seventh century, suggesting a commercial function for the space. Above this layer was a later level (Level X, 90 m.a.s.l.) dated to the middle Byzantine tenth to twelfth century, which revealed a basilica-style three-aisled medieval church. The church was colonnaded and roofed but not vaulted and was oriented north–south with the *cardo*, not east–west, showing the emphasis on orthogonality in the medieval city. Fragments of a

chancel screen carved in relief with simple foliage in a symmetrical pattern led Lassus to speculate if it might be of an Umayyad date, rather than Byzantine.¹¹³ On either side of the church was a cemetery (see fig. 13), with adults and children buried with grave goods and with two gravestones dating before 1042; one was dated between 969 and 1000 in Arabic Kufic, but it was reused with Greek written on the back dating to 1041/42. A middle Byzantine coin (1034–1041) was found.¹¹⁴ Both inscriptions and coins date the cemetery to the first half of the eleventh century. The excavations show that the early Islamic and middle Byzantine town extended past the *Parmenius*. The presence of one or two churches¹¹⁵ by the tenth century shows further intraurban transformation along a thriving, continuously used artery and within an industrial and commercial zone of the city. East of the 16-P main trench, a sounding uncovered a side street composed of a cobbled surface bordered by a wall of large ashlar blocks and a related subterranean vaulted cistern (see fig. 14). The street is perpendicular to the main *cardo* and shows further evidence of orthogonal planning in the medieval period. Although Lassus conjectures a tenth- to twelfth-century middle Byzantine date,¹¹⁶ the reused ashlar blocks correspond more closely to early Islamic construction noted around the city (for example, in 16-O).

In these parts of the city, cemeteries (*jabbāna*, sing.) and ceramic kilns continued from the early Islamic period (late eighth/ninth century) through the

113 Ibid., 55–65, esp. 59.

114 Not all areas were occupied continuously. Area 17-P (Main Street Dig IX) was on the edge of the *Parmenius* just southeast of 16-O. The excavators uncovered a house with mosaics that was apparently abandoned at the end of the 7th century (based on the dating of gold jewelry and a candlestick) and then reoccupied in the middle Byzantine period (Levels I and II). These later levels, under 4 m of sediment, kept the form of the house, although a dolium/kiln, platforms, and gutters were found. The excavators ascertained that the 7th-century house, though unoccupied, survived until the 10th century, which is strange given the duration of the early Islamic period (3 centuries) and the potentially devastating effects from the waters of the *Parmenius*. It is possible that the house was flooded and silted over.

115 A second nearby unexcavated church was part of the 16-O complex of pavement and necropolis. Both churches may correspond to those known from texts.

116 Lassus, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 5, *Les Portiques d'Antioche*, 43–44.

110 Nearby in 17-P, a sealed deposit in the west room had 8th- to 10th-century pottery under a later construction and over an earlier mosaic floor.

111 Southwest of 16-O was 17-N (Main Street Dig VI) off the main colonnaded road. The top level (Level I, 99.82–88.82 m.a.s.l.) also revealed a pavement, walls, and pipes and a continuous occupation from the early Byzantine period: Lassus, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 5, *Les Portiques d'Antioche*, 83–87 (17-N).

112 “Without a doubt represents a transformation of the Roman and Byzantine traditions” (ibid., 66).



FIG. 13.
16-P, middle Byzantine
phase lower-level cemetery
and pipes under the level of
the church, facing southwest
(photo and plan courtesy of
the Antioch archaeological
archive)

middle Byzantine period (eleventh century) without interruption. However, the association of cemeteries and potters' kilns in the same neighborhood need not imply simultaneous activities; rather, as seen at several medieval and many classical sites (such as Damascus, the Kerameikos in Athens, Argos, and Rhodes), kilns sometimes appeared on sites of earlier cemeteries and vice versa. In Baysān, the *Sigma* plaza eventually became a cemetery in a potters' quarter.¹¹⁷ Both pottery making and burials were located away from the central core of the city and its residential areas.¹¹⁸ Spolia from one of

117 Y. Tsafir, "Trade, Workshops and Shops in Bet Shean/Scythopolis, 4th–8th Centuries," in *Byzantine Trade, 4th–12th Centuries*, ed. M. Mango, Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies 14 (Aldershot, 2009), 75.

118 For medieval sites, see the cemetery/kiln site southeast of the walled city near the Bāb Kisan and Tall Aswad in Raqqa that was previously a cemetery: M. Milwright, *An Introduction to Islamic Archaeology* (Edinburgh, 2010), 146–47; idem, "Pottery in the Written Sources of the Ayyubid-Mamlūk Period (c. 567–923/1171–1517)," *BSOAS* 62, no. 3 (1999): 506; J. Henderson, K. Challis, S. O'Hara, S. McLoughlin, A. Gardner, and G. Priestnall, "Experiment and Innovation: Early Islamic Industry at al-Raqqa, Syria," *Antiquity* 79 (2005): 139. John Papadopoulos provides the most recent discussion on this urban topographical association. Noting that the "potter's field" has often been viewed as a "public burial place for paupers, unknown persons, and criminals," he therefore suggests that these cemetery/potter neighborhoods were associated with a seedier part of town, inhabited by the lower classes, foreigners and prostitutes: J. K. Papadopoulos, *Ceramicus Redivivus*:

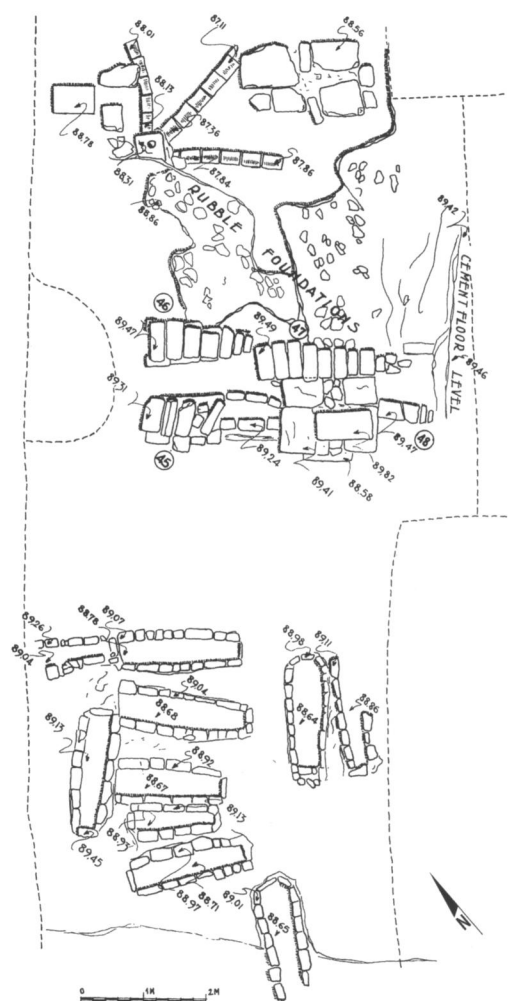
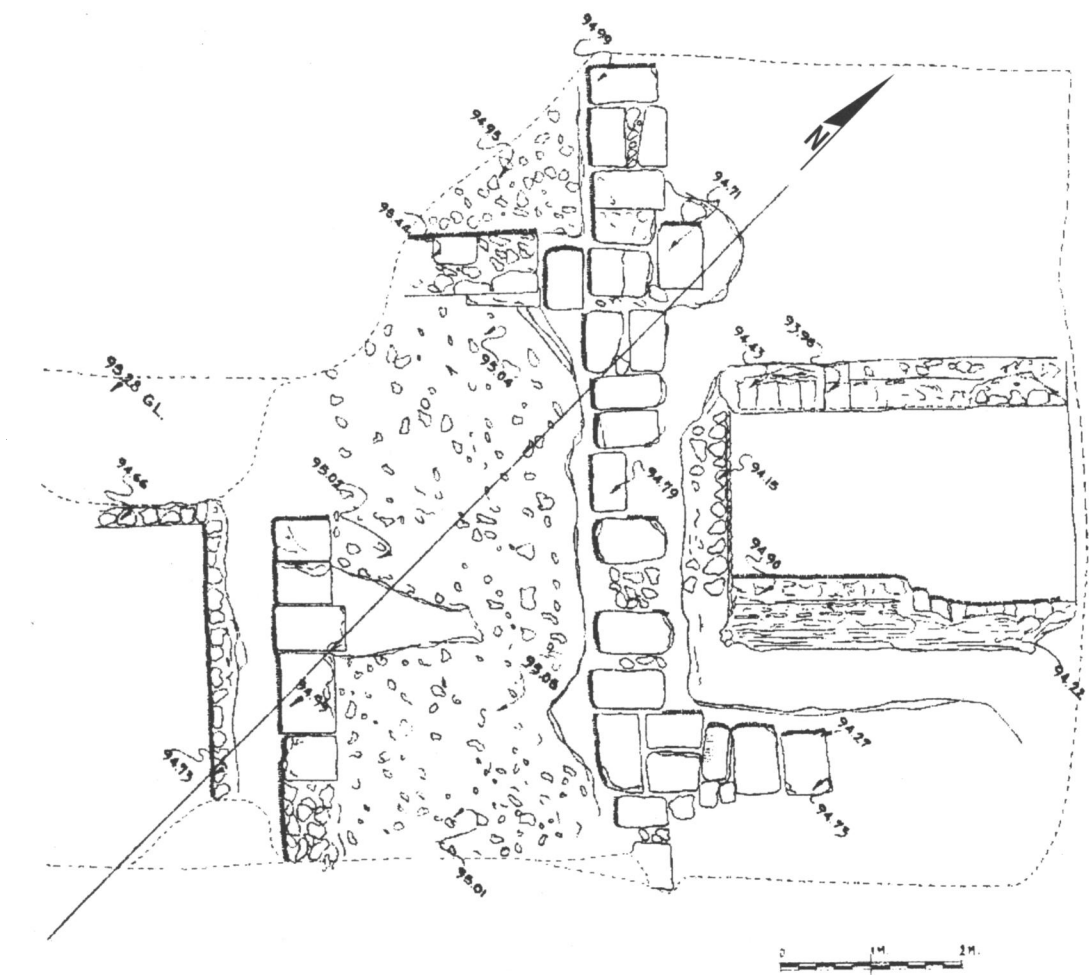




FIG. 14.
16-P excavations, medieval
phase, facing west (photo and
plan courtesy of the Antioch
archaeological archive)



these Muslim cemeteries was used to repair the nearby Iron Gate that dammed the Parmenius River gorge.¹¹⁹

Bath F (13-R), near the main colonnaded street and the city's eastern gate (the road to Aleppo), was destroyed and given over to lime kilns and ceramic kilns producing Syrian yellow glaze ware in the eighth century; ceramic ware continued to be produced there until the twelfth–fourteenth centuries.¹²⁰ Islamic pottery was found 5 meters below the surface in this area. The theater (18-O/P)—located between the main street and Mt. Silpius, closer to the center of the city—revealed a similar range of ceramics and, curiously, many monochrome 'Abbāsid luster wares. The greater concentration of luster ware imports in this sector than in others may also suggest a shop, a warehouse for imports, or other commercial use of the space.

The kilns at the theater, Bath F, 19-M, and 16-O would have produced continuously from the eighth century to at least the eleventh century. These kilns manufactured early Islamic glazes such as Syrian yellow glaze ware and color splash ware, as well as a continuation of the Syrian yellow glazes that are incised, gouged, and scraped, such as champlévé, many examples of which (including wasters) are stored at the Princeton University Art Museum. These last wares were strongly influenced by the Byzantine/Aegean glazed wares and feature geometric and figural designs, though they were often decorated with Arabic or pseudo-Arabic inscriptions. Other wares such as turquoise, luster, cobalt on white, streaked green on white imitation Chinese Tang pottery, and plain white glazes (including imported Chinese stoneware and imitations) were also found in these areas but in smaller quantities. Post-Crusader wares were scanty. The results reveal the greater significance of the early Islamic occupation and strongly put

into question or at the very least weaken Saradi's position that when the sixth-century city began to produce local goods such as ceramics, they were of poor quality.¹²¹ Certainly this was not the case from at least the middle of the eighth century until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In addition, the results affirm the importance of the city in the middle Byzantine and Crusader periods. Tasha Vorderstrasse also notes a peak in ceramic production in the eleventh century.¹²² This correlates with the contemporary textual evidence supporting major rebuilding in the middle Byzantine period.¹²³

North of the urban core, the old classical buildings of Antioch, such as the theater and baths, clearly were repurposed for industrial use (such as pottery kilns), as apparently also happened in various other early Islamic towns within earlier classical cities throughout the Near East.¹²⁴ There is evidence that public institutions such as bathhouses were already transforming by the sixth century, as baths in particular were expensive to keep heated and it was difficult to maintain their connection to the city's water supply.¹²⁵ At Jarash ceramic kilns of the early eighth century were found within the North

121 Saradi, *Byzantine City*, 43, 459.

122 T. Vorderstrasse, "Archaeology of the Antiochene Region in the Crusader Period," in Ciggaar and Metcalf, *East and West* (n. 12 above), 320–21. Excavations in 1932 uncovered a three-aisled basilica church with a chapel and other buildings attributed either to the middle Byzantine period (969–1084) or to the Crusader period (1098–1268). The church may be one of the few examples of Crusader building and identified either as the Monastery of Kastana (possibly from Kastalia, a spring of Daphne), Tskarotha, or Mar Georgios (*ibid.*, 322).

123 The Crusaders may have focused their reconstruction and occupation in the citadel high above the city rather than within the city itself (John Haldon, personal communication, 2011). The citadel has been surveyed and measured by members of the German team (Thomas Biller and Tim Radt, publication in preparation). This pattern is similar to shifts that occurred throughout the 11th century in administrative centers of Islamic/medieval cities; see J. Bacharach, "Administrative Complexes, Palaces, and Citadels: Changes in the Loci of Medieval Muslim Rule," in *The Ottoman City and Its Parts*, ed. I. A. Bierman, R. A. Abou-El-Haj, and D. Preziosi (New Rochelle, NY, 1991), 121–27.

124 Walmsley, *Early Islamic Syria* (n. 7 above), 117–19; Foote, "Commerce, Industrial Expansion, and Orthogonal Planning" (n. 89 above), 34–35. For a recent overview of changes in each city and summary of archaeological work, see Avni, "From Polis to Madina' Revisited" (n. 9 above).

125 Saradi, *Byzantine City*, 341. The gradual disappearance of historic Ottoman bathhouses in Istanbul today is a modern parallel to this process.

The Early Iron Age Potters' Field in the Area of the Classical Athenian Agora, *Hesperia Supplement* 31 (Princeton, 2003), 276. Although the parallels are from the first millennium BCE, the suggested dual use of the urban space is certainly plausible for the early Islamic and middle Byzantine periods as well.

119 G. Brands, "Prokop und das Eiserne Tor: Ein Beitrag zur Topographia von Antiochia am Orontes," in *Syrien und seine Nachbarn von der Spätantike bis in die islamische Zeit*, ed. I. Eichner and V. Tsamakda (Wiesbaden, 2009), 9–20.

120 The high concentration of 7th-century coins, particularly of Constans II, in this area (Kirkegaard, "Coins of Constans II") might be taken to suggest that Bath F was transformed into a more commercial/industrial space before the 8th century.

Theater as well as the former Temple of Artemis, and at Baysān ceramic kilns also were built within the Roman theater and western baths. While both of these kiln groups produced mainly early eighth-century unglazed storage and cooking wares, those at Anṭākiya show evidence of glazed fine ware production from the late eighth century until the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.

As noted earlier, it can be assumed that textile production also occurred at Anṭākiya, as it was known for producing a certain type of cover or carpet. Bathhouses at Ṭabariya and Baysān were equipped with facilities to prepare and dye textiles. At Qaysāriya lime and metal kilns were built within vaulted structures below Area TP (Temple Platform) and CC (the warehouses south of the Crusader walls), which, according to the excavators, were part of an early Islamic recycling program to reuse the large amount of Byzantine leftover debris.¹²⁶ Though this seems plausible, it does raise the question of the spatial relation of these malodorous activities to the surrounding (and possibly expanding) residential community.

The buildings in 19-M, 16-O, and 16-P were well constructed of large recycled ashlar walls, sometimes with alternating brick bands. They had marble floors and reused marble columns. Rather than supporting any claim that building techniques necessarily deteriorated after the sixth century, they provide evidence suggesting the opposite.¹²⁷ To provide a modern analogy, the subdivision of historic mid- to late nineteenth-century New York City brownstone houses into multiple apartments with drywall hardly provide evidence of the city's decline in the twentieth century. The transformations at Anṭākiya need not be attributed to

the eighth century; they may have reflected a longer process in which investment in civic structures, including lavish buildings for public entertainment and bathing, gradually fell while those spaces were constantly, actively, pragmatically, and innovatively reused.¹²⁸

Agricultural Zone

The area farthest from the central core of the city, including the island in the Orontes River and spaces within and beyond the city walls, was given over to agricultural use. On the island of the former Roman/Byzantine imperial palace in the Orontes north of the medieval city, excavation of a tower in 1932 on the site of the Byzantine stadium (Hippodrome B or 11-L/M)—determined to have been abandoned after the 526 earthquake—revealed houses and “Cufic potsherds and late Byzantine [sherds]” in the first meter.¹²⁹ Bath A (III or 9/10-L) had similar pottery and a middle Byzantine coin (1034–1041).¹³⁰ At some point, perhaps during the middle Byzantine or Crusader period, a tomb with painted frescoes was built within the structure.¹³¹ House A (V) was poorly built in its last phase, with early Kufic inscriptions; it may have been a farmhouse, according to the excavators, who noted its location outside the limits of the reduced city.¹³² Bath C (VI or 10/11-L/M) was used as a quarry after the sixth century and had two kilns to burn marble into lime.¹³³ The circus (Hippodrome A, VII, 7/8-O/N), which yielded eight Kufic gravestone inscriptions dating from the mid-ninth to early tenth

126 Y. Porath, “Caesarea, Expedition of the Antiquities Authority, 38/92-G-6/93, G,” *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 17 (1998): 47. Much as in Anṭākiya, archaeologists postulated an industrial zone farther from the residential core and just east of the Crusader walls but well within the Byzantine walls of Qaysāriya. Fields A and B (the latter termed “the industrial suburb of Caesarea”) exhibited various structures with ceramic bins, plaster-lined vats, industrial mosaics and shops, furnaces, and wells dated to the late Byzantine and early Islamic periods and continuing into the 8th century: K. Holum, “Archaeological Evidence for the Fall of Byzantine Caesarea,” *BASOR* 286 (1992): 75–79.

127 See Saradi, *Byzantine City*, 186–87, where she addresses the problem of archaeologists imposing subjective value judgments in archaeological reports but later (446) supports the claim of deterioration. Such claims may be more appropriate elsewhere in the Byzantine Empire in cities that did not become part of Islamic lands.

128 In “Antioch and the Villages of Northern Syria” ([n. 85 above], 77), Kennedy and Liebeschuetz argue that the civic life of classical Antioch had already eroded greatly by the 6th century because of a rising reformist religious atmosphere, rioting, and christological controversies that led to the cancellation of public entertainments (e.g., the Olympic Games in 465).

129 C. S. Fisher, “The Tower Area,” in Elderkin, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 1, *The Excavations of 1932* (n. 72 above), 1–2.

130 C. S. Fisher, “Bath A,” in *ibid.*, 4.

131 Notes on the excavation of Bath A are difficult to locate, but there are photographs in the archives at Princeton University; see T. Vorderstrasse, “Reconstructing a Medieval Tomb at Antioch,” paper presented at the American Schools of Oriental Research Annual Meeting, Chicago, 14–17 November 2012.

132 C. S. Fisher, “Bath B, House A, and the Roman Villa,” in Elderkin, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 1, *The Excavations of 1932*, 10, 11, 18.

133 C. S. Fisher, “Bath C,” in *ibid.*, 19–20, 31.

century, was used as a cemetery until recent times.¹³⁴ An examination of the numismatic evidence from excavations in the stadium and Baths A, B, C, and D shows that Byzantine imperial or local imitation issues ceased with Constans II (r. 641–668).¹³⁵ Hippodromes and other monuments for public spectacle frequently became abandoned areas and quarries or were repurposed with smaller dwellings and even cemeteries. Some, like the hippodrome in Jarash, were given over to pottery, glass, and lime production and tanning in the sixth to seventh centuries CE.¹³⁶ In Anṭākiya from the sixth/seventh centuries throughout the medieval period, apparently the island became a rural area with farms and cemeteries outside the urban core.

Excavations by Princeton and a survey by the Amuq Valley Regional Project from 1998 to 2002 suggest that the area north of the industrial and commercial areas was an agricultural-rural and burial buffer zone. The area west of the Orontes was also likely only agricultural lands. Aerial photos of the cruciform Church of Kaoussié (12-F, 13-F, G) taken at the time of the Princeton excavations show that the surrounding land remained entirely agricultural with no buildings whatsoever.¹³⁷ North of Anṭākiya, excavations in 20-N on the west bank of the Orontes 250 meters north of the bridge uncovered a cemetery with a tomb seemingly not buried by meters of alluvium. Two Islamic coins were recovered, but few physical remains were recorded. The Princeton excavations unearthed green monochrome glazed pottery (twelfth–fourteenth centuries) in the Narlica area and traces of walls and Islamic coins and pottery in a sounding on the route to Aleppo, 400 meters from the modern entrance to the city.¹³⁸ In the 1998 Amuq Survey

season, the University of Chicago team found evidence of water mills both just outside Anṭākiya to the north-east, on the route into the Amuq Plain, and just within the city walls on the same route. Within the city, cut channels in a mountain ravine were discovered that served to contain and make use of the seasonal torrential streams while limiting or screening out colluvial wash (a perennial problem noted by authors of the Byzantine and Islamic periods).¹³⁹ At various locations and at the bottom of the channels' course, basalt millstone fragments were found, as well as very well preserved mills at Sultan Merkezi (AS 227) outside the city that were part of a late Roman/early Islamic millhouse (see fig. 15).¹⁴⁰ The German-Turkish urban survey between 2004 and 2009 recorded many water installations and related buildings, including the Iron Gate across the Parmenius Gorge.¹⁴¹ All of these excavated and surveyed areas show that the area north of the reduced medieval urban core (the former late Roman city) and west of the Orontes, which Islamic geographers and Christian travelers described as full of gardens, orchards, and mills, was an agricultural-rural and burial buffer zone.

The city wall of Anṭākiya probably underwent numerous repairs during the early Islamic, middle Byzantine, and Crusader periods, but during that time it very likely was never reduced and rebuilt to surround the contracted city. If this is true (it has yet to be proven), Anṭākiya is quite different from cities such as 'Ayn Zarba, whose reduced city wall should be attributed first to the sixth century, then its upper courses

134 W. A. Campbell, "A Byzantine Stadium," in *ibid.*, 32; N. A. Faris, "Kufic Inscriptions," in Stillwell, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 2, *The Excavations of 1933–1936* (n. 81 above), 166–69.

135 Kirkegaard, "Coins of Constans II."

136 I. Kehrberg and A. A. Ostrasz, "A History of Occupational Changes at the Site of the Hippodrome of Gerasa," in *Jordan: Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan VI*, ed. G. Bisheh et al. (Amman, 1997), 167–73, esp. 169–70; Saradi, *Byzantine City*, 301–2.

137 J. Lassus, "L'Église cruciforme, Antioche-Kaoussie 12-F," in Stillwell, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 2, *The Excavations of 1933–1936*, 5. Coins of Constans II were also absent: Kirkegaard, "Coins of Constans II."

138 Stillwell, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 3, *The Excavations of 1937–1939* (n. 81 above), 19–24, but the medieval finds are not mentioned.

139 See J. LeBianc and G. Poccardi, "L'Eau domestiquée et l'eau sauvage à Antioche-sur-L'Oronte: problèmes de gestion," in Cabouret, Gatier, and Saliou, *Antioche de Syrie* (n. 31 above), 239–56, esp. 245–48.

140 K. A. Yener and T. J. Wilkinson, "Amuq Valley Regional Project," *The Oriental Institute 1998–1999 Annual Report* (1999), <http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/pubs/ar/98-99/amuq.html>.

141 Brands, "Prokop und das Eiserne Tor" (n. 119 above). Water also came from the suburb of Daphne (Harbiye). The rich suburb seems to have faded during the early Islamic period. However, a few early Islamic and medieval sherds from DH27-0—including Syrian yellow glaze, fritwares, and manganese-glazed brittle wares—can be found in the Princeton boxes. The account by the anonymous Christian Arab in the middle Byzantine period describes two aqueducts that supplied the city with water coming from the Bayt al-Mā' (the suburb of Dafnā); Stinespring, "Description of Antioch in Codex Vaticanus Arabicus 286" (n. 63 above). A forthcoming volume by Mathias Döring on the survival and maintenance of the classical water system is in preparation.



FIG. 15. Watermills at Sultan Merkezi/AS 227 (photo by author)

to the middle Byzantine reconquest, on the basis of tenth-century ceramics found in the mortar.¹⁴² When other Byzantine cities in western Anatolia shrank, such as Sardis, Ephesus, Pergamon, and Miletus, their walls did, too.¹⁴³ In contrast, the extended city wall protected the farms and grazing lands of Anṭākiya's inhabitants. Indeed, according to the anonymous middle Byzantine account of Anṭākiya, citizens in the surrounding towns and villages abandoned their homes and lands and

moved inside the city, where they were given gardens and lands.¹⁴⁴

The presence of green spaces within the medieval/Islamic city, though in some cases described in texts, has yet to be explored archaeologically. Too often, archaeologists classify empty spaces devoid of buildings as abandoned spaces, lending their support to arguments for decline. In cities, in particular, abandoned buildings and accumulations of rubbish are seen as indicators of urban decay, even though they can instead become the substrate for different kinds of use. Urban ruralization, or the increased presence of agricultural spaces in the city, has also been portrayed as a symptom of decline.¹⁴⁵ Today we understand the presence and importance of green spaces within cities in relation both to recreation and to agricultural production. Indeed, green spaces are used to revitalize abandoned neighborhoods and,

142 A. U. de Giorgi and A. Eger, "Hellenistic through Islamic Ceramics from the Urban Survey," forthcoming. The 10th-century wall is built on an earlier contracted wall dating to the 6th century, according to R. Posamentir, "Anazarbos in Late Antiquity," in *Archaeology and the Cities of Asia Minor in Late Antiquity*, ed. O. Dally and C. Ratté (Ann Arbor, MI, 2011), 205–24.

143 C. Foss and D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications: An Introduction* (Pretoria, 1986), 131–33. However, there were areas of occupation in the area between the contracted walls and the original walls that put in question a straightforward theory that the city and its entire population contracted. I am grateful to John Haldon for pointing this out (personal communication, 2011).

144 Stinespring, "Description of Antioch in Codex Vaticanus Arabicus 286," 10–11 (Arabic text 144, lines 12–15).

145 For example, see Saradi, *Byzantine City*, 449–50, 454–58.

alongside urban workshops and manufacturing centers, reveal the importance of the local economy.¹⁴⁶

An agricultural buffer may have existed as early as the first century CE. Two inscriptions from 73–74 CE refer to fullers who cleaned and prepared wool on the other side of the river along a built canal and presumably a mill.¹⁴⁷ An example of ruralization within the city is provided by Libanius's account of cities that were conquered and experienced famine and population decline: "the cities themselves formed both city and farmland and the uninhabited spaces inside the defences provided land enough for farming; . . . oxen were yoked, furrows drawn, the seed set, and the [grain] grew, was reaped and threshed, all inside the city gates."¹⁴⁸ However, in the Islamic period, gardens and cultivated lands were deliberately put in place and frequently seen as representing beauty and prosperity, as captured in the descriptions of Anṭākiya. Accounts and archaeological evidence not only from Anṭākiya but also from numerous other cities both changed from an earlier plan, such as Naṣībīn and Ba'alabakk,¹⁴⁹ and newly established with these features, such as al-Qāhira and Kūfā, reveal green or garden spaces with agricultural lands, gardens, orchards, irrigated channels, and water-lifting devices in the heart of the town and in its abandoned spaces.¹⁵⁰ About one-third of Constantinople,

particularly along the inside of the city walls, was green space.¹⁵¹ Excavations at Qaysāriya uncovered gardens of imported topsoil lined with stone irrigation channels carefully arranged within the urban core of the city both in the Inner Harbor and in Areas KK and CC.¹⁵² In Baysān, there is similar evidence for green space within the heart of the city: Palladius Street was overlaid by

146 Similar transformations are occurring in modern-day Detroit and other cities. Thanks to Greg Grieve and Donna Nash for pointing this out.

147 D. Feissel, "Deux listes de quartiers d'Antioche astreints au creusement d'un canal (73–74 après J.C.)," *Syria* 62 (1985): 77–103. The lists also give the names of 25 other quarters of Antioch.

148 Libanius, *Or.* 28.35, in *Selected Orationes*, ed. and trans. A. F. Norman, vol. 1, Loeb 451 (Cambridge, MA, 1969), 300.20–27, 302.1–3. Saradi (*The Byzantine City*, 458) suggests that gardens and empty spaces were present in Anṭākiya before the Islamic conquests.

149 St. Symeon of the Olives built mills, animal enclosures, and gardens within Naṣībīn (I am grateful to Jack Tannous for sharing with me his unpublished translation from Syriac of the *Life* of St. Symeon of the Olives); and Muqaddasī mentions cultivated lands within the city walls among the ruins of the ancient city of Ba'alabakk (Wheatley, *Places Where Men Pray Together* [n. 108 above], 294).

150 For al-Qāhira, see Nāṣir-i Khusraw in the mid-11th century, quoted in Wheatley, *Places Where Men Pray Together*, 284; for Kūfā, see H. Djazit, "Kufa," in *Historic Cities of the Islamic World*, ed. C. E. Bosworth (Leiden, 2007), 293. Binkath (Tashkent) in the Mashriq had residences with their own gardens, stables, and vineyards within the city walls (as reported by Ibn Hawqal; see Wheatley, *Places Where Men Pray Together*, 318).

151 C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople, IV^e–VII^e siècles* (Paris, 1985), 57; idem, "The Development of Constantinople as an Urban Centre," in *17th International Byzantine Congress* (n. 28 above), 125, 129, describes an empty swath of land near the walls. A. Ricci, "İstanbul'da Manevi Kültürel Miras: Kara Surlarını Bizans Bahçeleri" [Intangible cultural heritage in Istanbul: the case of the land wall's Byzantine orchards], in 3. *Uluslararası Tarihi Yarımada Sempozyumu Tebliğler Kitabı*, ed. Ş. Memiş and F. Sadırlı (İstanbul, 2008), 66–67. Amorium may have also had a similar space: E. A. Ivison, "Amorium in the Byzantine Dark Ages (seventh to ninth centuries)," in Henning, *Post-Roman Towns* (n. 10 above), 2:39.

152 In the Fātimid period, the Inner Harbor contained some buildings, several of which had built-in enclosed spaces fed by water and presumably were used as garden plots. In Area KK, south of the Crusader city wall, during the Umayyad period, the ruined Byzantine buildings and debris were leveled and topsoil was brought in that was rich in potsherds. The gardens were terraced, descending down toward the sea, and irrigated through the use of stone channels with openings at regular intervals and of numerous wells and stone catchment basins. The channels flowed north–south and east–west, and walls were erected to serve as wind barriers. On the western part of KK, a *shaduf* type of water-lifting device was noted within a well. In the final phase the area became a cemetery, with graves from the Abbasid, Fātimid, and Crusader periods. Granaries are also a feature of agricultural spaces within cities. For the Inner Harbor, see R. Toueg, "The Urban Planning of Islamic Caesarea," in *The Richness of Islamic Caesarea*, ed. A. Raban, Y. D. Arnon, and R. Pollack (Haifa, 1999), 10. For Area KK, see C. M. Lehmann, "The Governor's Palace and Warehouse Complex, West Flank (Areas KK7–9, CV, 1993–95 Excavations)," in *Caesarea Papers 2: Herod's Temple, the Provincial Governor's Praetorium and Granaries, the Later Harbor, a Gold Coin Hoard, and Other Studies*, ed. K. G. Holum, A. Raban, and J. Patrich, *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* 35 (Portsmouth, RI, 1999), 139; J. Patrich, "The Warehouse Complex and Governor's Palace (areas KK, CC, NN, May 1993–December 1995)," in *ibid.*, 93; Y. Porath, "Expedition of the Antiquities Authority," in "The Caesarea Excavation Project—March 1992–June 1994," *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 17 (1998): 45; J. Patrich, "Combined Caesarea Excavations (A)," *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 17 (1998): 56–57. Whitcomb ("Qaysāriyah as an Early Islamic Settlement" [n. 8 above]) posits that this garden district served as a buffer zone between new Arab and preexisting Christian communities. See also J. Stabler, "The Architectural and Spatial Organization of the Islamic Residences in Area LL," paper presented at the American Schools of Oriental Research Annual Meeting, Nashville, TN, 15–18 November 2000.

agricultural terraces.¹⁵³ The caliph Hishām established *hijr* (*mahjar/hajra*, sing.) or enclosed gardens in the region of Raqqa to produce revenue, as mentioned by Agapius of Manbij.¹⁵⁴ In Anṭākiya, these lands were easily watered by the Orontes, the Parmenius, and other mountain torrents, and waste water from mosques and baths. The countryside within the city, or *rus in urbe*, denoted by the presence of created green spaces—intramural gardens, orchards, mills, canals, granaries, and other agricultural and pastoral areas—represented a dramatically transformed and contracted urban landscape. John Haldon and Leslie Brubaker describe this ruralized city as a separate urban type.¹⁵⁵ These green spaces contributed to the city's economy, as it shifted from being a "parasite" or consumer city, market-based and dependent on imported products from the surrounding countryside, to being a manufacturing center, agriculturally more self-sufficient, and less reliant on the hinterland of villages.¹⁵⁶

Linking Town and Country

Some observations can be made on the relationship of Anṭākiya to the surrounding area in the early Islamic and middle Byzantine periods. Trade networks were not severed during Antioch's "afterlife" as an Islamic/medieval frontier town. Rather, as occurred throughout the Mediterranean in different ways, depending on the region, they shifted and relocated.¹⁵⁷ Imported fine wares (Late Roman Red and Coptic) of the seventh century at both Antioch and al-Mina are convincing evi-

dence of trade with North Africa, Asia Minor, Cyprus, and Egypt past the initial Islamic conquest, and they also complicate claims of a total decline in the sixth century before the Islamic conquest.¹⁵⁸ However, the presence of counterstamped coins of Constans II from Egypt and Antioch suggests a shift in patterns of circulation involving more recently acquired Islamic lands.¹⁵⁹ A large number of 'Abbāsid local imitation copper coins, many dating to the early 'Abbāsid period (and more specifically to the reign of the caliph al-Mahdī, 775–785), were noted and partially published from the Princeton excavations by George Miles.¹⁶⁰ Although findspots were not attributed, both imported Iraqi issues and local imitations point to monetary activity, trade, and exchange in Anṭākiya in the late eighth century.¹⁶¹

The role of the city as an urban center for the frontier is corroborated by an increase in settlement in the late eighth/early ninth century in the Amuq Plain, the continuation of sites on the Syrian Jibāl (the *massif calcaire*, or "Dead Cities"), occupation of sites at al-Mina, and the establishment in the early 'Abbāsid period of several thughūr sites, including at Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt on the coast.¹⁶² These sites had locally made

153 In a new shop built in front of the Nymphaeum from the Umayyad period, among the iron tools discovered were agricultural implements, including sickles, pruning knives, and shearing scissors: Tsafirir, "Trade, Workshops and Shops in Bet Shean/Scythopolis" (n. 117 above), 75, 78; Y. Tsafirir and G. Foerster, "Urbanism at Scythopolis-Bet Shean in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries," *DOP* 51 (1997): 138.

154 R. Hoyland, trans., *Theophilus of Edessa's Chronicle and the Circulation of Historical Knowledge in Late Antiquity and Early Islam* (Liverpool, 2011), 223 n. 727.

155 Haldon and Brubaker, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era* (n. 10 above), 536.

156 For manufacturing cities in the early Islamic period, see Foote, "Commerce, Industrial Expansion, and Orthogonal Planning" (n. 89 above), 32.

157 This argument, redefining the Pirenne thesis, is introduced convincingly in Wickham's synthetic and comprehensive *Framing the Early Middle Ages* (n. 1 above).

158 Magness, *The Archaeology of the Early Islamic Settlement* (n. 87 above), 208–9; Decker, "Frontier Settlement" (n. 40 above), 237.

159 Kirkegaard, "Coins of Constans II" (n. 84 above). I am grateful to Emily Kirkegaard for also sharing with me her unpublished study on the coins of Constans II from the Antioch collections at Princeton's Firestone Library, "Coins of Constans II from the Excavations at Antioch."

160 G. C. Miles, "Islamic Coins," in Waagé, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 4, part 1, *Ceramics and Islamic Coins* (n. 81 above), 110, 116–17. Miles raised the question of whether these were made in Iraq for export and circulation in Syria or locally minted.

161 The same phenomenon is noted in Raqqa; see S. Heidemann, "Settlement Patterns, Economic Development and Archaeological Coin Finds in Bilad al-Sham: The Case of Diyar Muda," in *Residences, Castles, Settlements: Transformation Processes from Late Antiquity to Early Islam in Bilad al-Sham*, Proceedings of the International Conference held at Damascus, 5–9 November 2006, ed. K. Bartl and A. al-R. Moaz (Rahden/Westf., 2008), 503. See also S. Redford, "Early Islamic Antioch," paper presented at the Third International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, Paris, 15–19 April 2002; Foss, "Syria in Transition" (n. 1 above), 196.

162 Gerritsen et al., "Settlement and Landscape Transformations" (n. 31 above), 270–71; A. Eger, "*Ḥiṣn, Ribāt, Thaghr, or Qaṣr?* The Semantics of Frontier Forts in the Early Islamic Period," in *The Lineaments of Islam: Studies in Honor of Fred McGraw Donner*, ed. P. Cobb (Leiden, 2012), 445–47; idem, "*Ḥiṣn al-Tīnāt* on the Islamic-Byzantine Frontier: Synthesis and the 2005–2008 Survey and Excavation on the Cilician Plain (Turkey)," *BASOR*

Antiochene ceramics. Again, Antioch was not dependent on its hinterland but instead was a central hub on the frontier and was connected to smaller towns. It is possible that the smaller frontier towns were reliant on larger towns like Anṭākiya for manufactured fine and luxury goods such as glazed pottery and textiles. The contraction of the city corresponds to what we know of the relationship between town and country during the early medieval/Islamic period generally and on the plain of Antioch specifically. Surveys around the Amuq Plain have shown general patterns of increased nucleation by the middle Islamic period (twelfth–fourteenth centuries), and already in the seventh century movement away from dispersal trends as minor towns were rising.¹⁶³ Many of these towns had their own dependent smaller villages and markets and fairs, signifying rural self-sufficiency.¹⁶⁴ Further, general landscape studies show a change during the early Islamic period from extensive and mono-crop farming to intensive irrigated gardens and orchards.¹⁶⁵ The villages of the Syrian Jibāl, also self-sufficient to a point, shifted in the early Islamic period from participation in long-distance trade to a more constrained localized system of exchange on the frontier.¹⁶⁶ The site of St. Symeon Stylites the Younger may also have been economically self-contained though connected to the city.

Antioch was not the only major ceramic producer for the frontier. The unpublished ceramics from Hetty Goldman's excavations of Ṭarsūs from 1935 to 1939, which took place at the same time as Princeton's excavations, uncovered a far greater and even more diverse range of Islamic glazed and unglazed wares and suggest

that Ṭarsūs from the eighth to tenth centuries eclipsed Antioch commercially.¹⁶⁷ Both cities were parts of a wider network of exchange on the frontier that likely included other key thughūr towns still to be studied.¹⁶⁸

In the middle Byzantine period, though many of the larger thughūr towns developed in ways similar to Antioch, the hinterland of Antioch shows a discontinuity between town and country that may indeed indicate a depopulation of the countryside and further isolation of the city as a self-sufficient urban node. Although the focus of the city and the frontier shifted largely away from the Mediterranean to more inland routes, Anṭākiya continued to participate in coastal maritime trade—though trade confined more to the Levantine and eastern Mediterranean spheres via its port of al-Mina, as also shown, for example, by the presence of Fāṭimid material culture. However, it is worth noting that while key Crusader wares (such as Port St. Symeon ware) are rare, imports of fritware during this period from the Ilkhanid east, as well as a local export-only production of a Byzantine-style champlevé ware (often with pseudo-Kufic decoration), not found in surveys of the hinterlands,¹⁶⁹ suggest differing economic vectors perhaps more concentrated on the city as a trading hub or emporium rather than a production center for its immediate hinterland.

Modeling Urban Transformation

From Lassus's publication, which provides a wealth of useful analysis by considering the post-Byzantine periods; from my own preliminary observations of the material in the Princeton Museum; and from preliminary numismatic studies, one can draw six

357 (February 2010): 49–76. For the Syrian Jibāl, see Magness, *Archaeology of the Early Islamic Settlement*, 196–206; Trombley, "Demographic and Cultural Transition" (n. 31 above).

163 Gerritsen et al., "Settlement and Landscape Transformations," 273, 292. Interestingly, the nucleation "from villa to village," or *incastellamento*, presents a similar reversion to ancient Near Eastern Bronze and Iron Age settlement patterns.

164 Ibid., 263–65, 272–73; See also Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century* (n. 6 above), 125–72, especially 136–41.

165 K. Butzer, J. F. Mateu, E. K. Butzer, and P. Kraus, "Irrigation Agrosystems in Eastern Spain: Roman or Islamic Origins?" *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 75, no. 4 (1985): 501–4. Though this shift is commonly associated with the controversial "Green Revolution," it has convincingly been redefined as a development in agricultural technologies and growing calendars rather than an influx of new crop species.

166 Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 443–49.

167 These are currently being studied by Yasemin Bağcı (Leiden University) for a PhD. I am grateful to her and Aslı Özyar for allowing me to look at them in the summer of 2012.

168 Indeed, there is a tendency to assume that anything of cultural importance that happened on the border between Byzantine and Islamic lands whose exact location, "school," or "workshop" cannot be identified must have happened in Antioch. Scholars should be cautious about making these broad statements in the absence of evidence from other frontier towns.

169 For the scarcity of Ilkhanid fritwares and champlevé, I rely on my own observations from the Amuq, Kahramanmaraş, and Kirikköprü surveys, as well as surveys throughout the frontier and Jazīra region. See A. Eger, *The Islamic-Byzantine Frontier: Interaction and Exchange among Muslim and Christian Communities* (London, forthcoming [2014]).



FIG. 16. Middle Byzantine/Crusader citadel on Mt. Staurin, looking north (photo courtesy of the Antioch archaeological archive)

integral conclusions about the Princeton excavations of Antioch/Anṭākiya. First, the sedimentation overlying the city presented a challenge for the excavators, on the one hand, and preserved the remains, on the other. Second, middle Byzantine levels were typically 4.0 meters below the surface, Byzantine levels were 7.0 meters, and virgin soil was not reached until 11.0–11.5 meters. Third, early Islamic construction shows a continuity with earlier Byzantine phasing (whether sixth or seventh century) and was often well-built, characterized by large walls of reused ashlar that were constructed directly on the assumed Byzantine pavements and that in some cases utilized marble paving and columns. Fourth, ceramic evidence is present from the transitional seventh century to the first half of the eighth, but it is slight in comparison with the robust and fine glazed assemblages from the late eighth to tenth centuries. This disparity may represent the excavator's predilection for keeping glazed or decorated fine wares over coarse wares, or it, like the coin evidence, may indicate a

large effort to build up the frontier in the early 'Abbāsid period.¹⁷⁰ In any case, both coins and ceramics point to an active economy involving high-quality products. Fifth, the middle Byzantine city was fairly extensive, and material evidence agrees with the textual evidence for the city's renewal. Sixth, there is very little building attributed to the Crusader occupation, yet the import and export ceramic industry remained active. The Crusader foci of settlement within the city may have shifted and included peripheral spaces such as the citadel (see fig. 16), even as the city may have contracted further. Post-thirteenth-century material culture for the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods is scant in all

170 Wheatley commented that the major urban centers in the Byzantine Near East were avoided and not significantly settled by Muslims in the first century of Islam—that is, until the early 'Abbāsid period (*Places Where Men Pray Together* [n. 108 above], 57). See Eger, "Hiṣn, Ribāṭ, Thaghṛ, or Qaṣr?" 440–47, for a lengthier discussion of the building up of the frontier's settlements and networks of trade and exchange during this period.

excavation areas, suggesting that the Mamlūk siege in 1268 affected the city significantly.

During the early Islamic and middle Byzantine periods, there were zones of differing use throughout the city. In order of closeness to the core were a residential/industrial area, an industrial/cemetery area, and finally an agricultural/cemetery area on the island and north of the city on the Amuq Plain. It remained a medieval city, with distinct residential, commercial/industrial (and funerary), and rural (and funerary) spaces, and was not a revival of the classical city, though apparently it basically kept its classical orthogonal plan for most of the post-Byzantine periods.

Before concluding, I wish to expand on these last two points. How does an urban concept of differing zones align with a classical grid plan, literary evidence of quarters segregated by ethnicity and religion, and certain institutions and a layout common to early Islamic cities? Further, given the available evidence, how does one model the changing city? The strong patterns in both layout and institutions discerned in newly founded early Islamic cities—evident from plans of settlements ranging from rural *quṣūr* (or “desert castles”) to cities such as Kūfā or Fuṣṭāṭ¹⁷¹—suggest that an overarching concept or even template was used in urban planning. They are all also orthogonally divided, with a central congregational mosque (*masjid al-jamīʿ*) adjacent to the governor’s residence and administrative building (*dār al-ʿimara*), and a nearby central bath. Were only newly founded cities orthogonally planned while pre-existing cities remained irregular? The question exposes archaeologists’ bias toward excavating main streets and public buildings. Some preexisting Byzantine cities such as Jerusalem exhibit a planned layout common among Islamic cities. Moreover, in many preexisting cities the colonnaded street continued as a *sūq* in the Umayyad period; such was the case in Ruṣāfa, Tadmur, ʿAnjar, Ṭabariya, Bayt Rāʾs, Baysān, Fiḥl, Jarash, Arsūf, and Ṭarsūs.¹⁷² These cities embraced a combination of deliberately planned public spaces and irregular narrow streets that wound through neighborhoods. Anṭākiya

was by the fifth century arguably the largest and most highly urbanized center in the Near East, possessing a well-developed population, markets, and religious institutions. Literary and archaeological evidence demonstrates that these demographic, economic, and religious landscapes shifted and continued to shift throughout its late antique and Islamic/medieval occupations. Further, the unique terrain of the city, sandwiched in a narrow valley between an unpredictable river and high mountains, together with the existing Byzantine wall that accommodated this topography, constrained the city’s spatial transformations and dictated transportation corridors.

Several classic urban models may be compared with the evidence to provide a basic hypothetical framework.¹⁷³ These urban models, despite their theoretical attractions, lack an actual urban correlative. In Anṭākiya, the partial literary and archaeological evidence can be taken together to tentatively describe an individual urban variation for which theoretical models may provide a framework. From the scattered excavation sites, differing functions can be assigned to the various spaces throughout the city, hypothesized to shift from the center toward the outer limits. In the most basic model, a concentric scheme, the differing zones of use (religious, residential, commercial, industrial, agricultural) radiated evenly from the urban core (see fig. 17). However, this plan is too simplistic and assumes that the center was not only an administrative hub and symbolically sacred but also a residential focal point, manifesting an implied social hierarchy according to which “accessibility and land value decline equally from a common central point.”¹⁷⁴ In other towns, residences have been found in industrial areas, workshops in wealthy homes, and burials everywhere.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, the concentric scheme assumes a social and religious/ethnic homogeneity within the population that might have been realized only if the Byzantine elite had resided in the center of the city, fled during the Islamic conquests, and were replaced by new Muslim

171 D. Whitcomb, “An Urban Structure for the Early Islamic City,” in *Cities in the Pre-Modern Islamic World: The Urban Impact of Religion, State and Society*, ed. A. K. Bennison and A. L. Gascoigne (New York, 2007), 15–26.

172 For general discussion, see Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 618. For Ṭarsūs, see Eger, *The Spaces between the Teeth: A Gazetteer* (n. 99 above), 167–69.

173 For more on urban models, see P. Wheatley, “The Concept of Urbanism,” in *Man, Settlement, and Urbanism*, ed. P. J. Ucko, R. Tringham, and G. W. Dimbleby (Gloucester Crescent, UK, 1970), 601–37; J. Marcus and J. A. Sabloff, introduction to *The Ancient City: New Perspectives on Urbanism in the Old and New World*, ed. eadem (Santa Fe, 2008), 3–26.

174 Wheatley, “The Concept of Urbanism,” 618.

175 Saradi, *Byzantine City* (n. 6 above), 173, 341, 444.

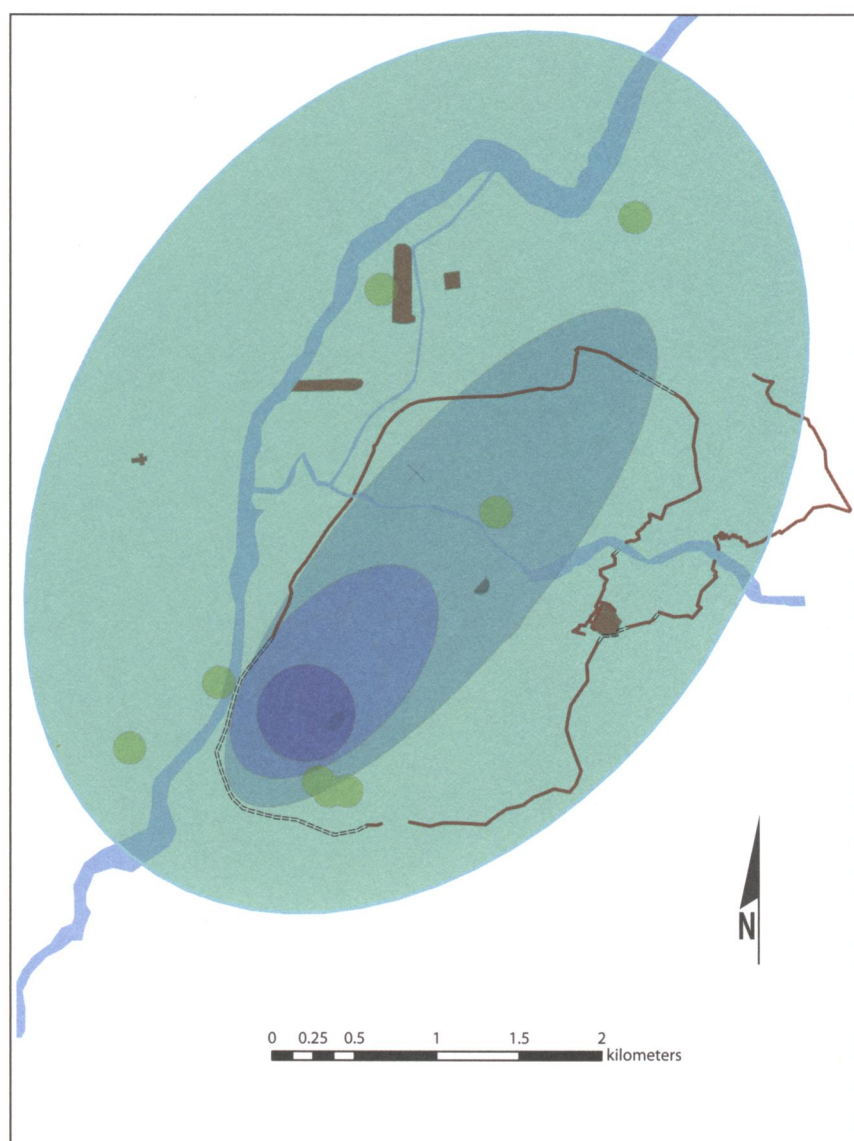


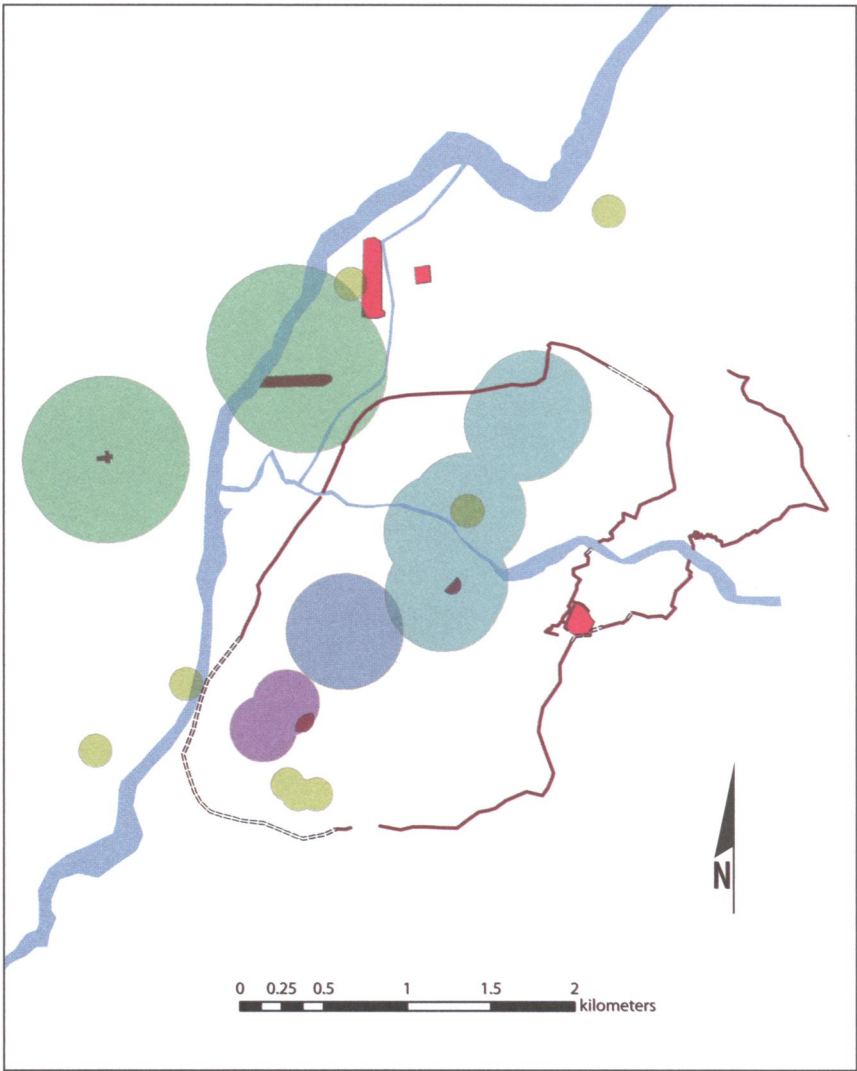
FIG. 17.
Concentric model, showing radiating zones of use, from religious (in center) to domestic to industrial to agricultural: purple (religious zone), violet (residential zone), blue (industrial/commercial zone), green (agricultural zone), yellow/green (funerary zone) (prepared by author; city walls based on forthcoming map by Brands and Weferling)

inhabitants moving en masse into the abandoned areas. Such an unlikely scenario ignores the complex interplay between the existing Byzantine/Christian population and new populations—Arabs and other ethnic groups, Muslim communities—that characterized the early Islamic preexisting city, as discussed above. Further, we know that throughout the Islamic world, in many cases new Muslim populations moved into areas peripheral to districts where the preexisting population had settled.

The multiple-nuclei model posits various land use zones at several significant points throughout the

city, largely as a result of its uneven and organic growth (see fig. 18). This scheme, in combination with the concentric model, seems a good match for an Islamic city that is often characterized as having quarters or neighborhoods (*ḥārah*, sing.) each furnished with its own mosque, market, and bath in conjunction with the central congregational mosque and administrative focal point. This layout, documented in other Islamic cities, may be suggested by textual evidence enumerating the various populations, such as Christian groups (including preexisting Christian Melkites and Miaphysites and later Armenians and Georgians), Persians, Zuṭṭ,

FIG. 18.
Multiple nuclei model: purple
(religious zone), violet (residential
zone), blue (industrial/
commercial zone), green
(agricultural zone), yellow/
green (funerary zone) (prepared
by author; city walls based on
forthcoming map by Brands and
Weferling)



and Slavs and their religious buildings. In some ways it represents a transformation from the classical grid system into a “centripetally organized aggregation of quarters.”¹⁷⁶ Yet at present the piecemeal archaeological evidence does not support it. Excavations, though scattered, have not revealed any mosque or church; the main baths around the city ceased to function; the concentration of commercial activity was confined to the main *cardo*; and open space was detected on the peripheries of the contracted settlement.

The city’s actual arrangement may most closely follow a sector model, which takes the previous two models a step further by incorporating differences in

functionality and accessibility on key routes that radiate out of the city (see fig. 19). In Antioch/Anṭākiya such a plan would comprehend not just the main *cardo*’s use as a main transportation artery but its transformation into a commercial market (*sūq*) with a specialized zone featuring industry, manufacturing, and crafts alongside it. The orthogonal grid of the city largely remained intact, as evidenced even in today’s city. Further, as Whitcomb has argued, the three institutions of the mosque, governor’s residence, and *sūq* can be taken in totality as organized along an axis that cuts through the center of the partly organized, partly

176 Wheatley, *Places Where Men Pray Together*, 57.

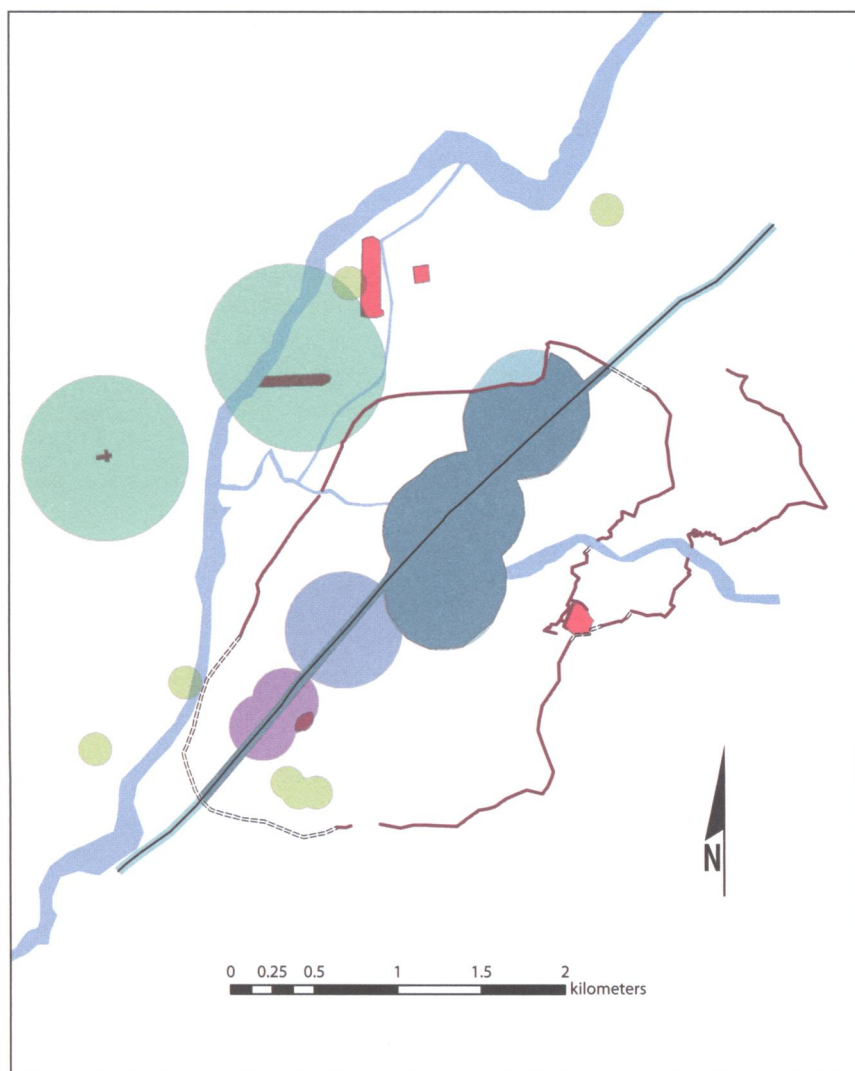


FIG. 19.

Sector model: purple (religious zone), violet (residential zone), blue (industrial/commercial zone), green (agricultural zone), yellow/green (funerary zone) (prepared by author; city walls based on forthcoming map by Brands and Weferling)

organic residential expanse.¹⁷⁷ Such a model is faithful to the city as an economic hub of trade and manufacturing, as suggested by the available published and reexamined archaeological evidence, and accommodates the major institutions of an Islamic city.



In Muqaddasī's hierarchical ordering of cities expounded and analyzed by Paul Wheatley, Anṭākiya

has an odd place: it does not quite fit anywhere. As an Islamic city it was neither *miṣr* (metropolis) nor *qaṣaba* (provincial capital). It was a city now on the *thughūr* and *ʿawāṣim* frontiers between Islam and Byzantium, of a type sometimes labeled a capital in provinces that had neither an official *miṣr* or *qaṣaba* and were generally viewed as containing fortified places. Literary and archaeological evidence shows that Anṭākiya possessed a degree of local agriculture and self-sufficiency, significant manufacturing and markets, and key links to transportation routes for local and long-distance trade. Befitting a frontier settlement, its population was composed of religiously and ethnically diverse communities. In short, Anṭākiya in the early Islamic and middle Byzantine periods gives strong evidence for urbanism

177 D. Whitcomb, "Transformations in Islamic Urbanism as Seen in the Archaeology and Documentation from Fustat, Egypt," paper presented at The City in Medieval Western Islam Conference 4, "The Madina in Process of Saturation," Granada, 10–13 May 2006.

on the frontier that, with minor fluctuations, remained more or less stable until the twelfth century.

The paradigm of decline, which is relative and subjective, has consequences for scholarly research. The image of post-Byzantine Antākiya as a city in great decline has discouraged archaeologists from working on it, yet such work is necessary if a more accurate picture is to emerge. Much about the post-Roman city is still to be uncovered. Early Islamic and middle Byzantine remains reach far beyond the urban core into areas north of the modern city that are not fully developed today. It is more useful to view Near Eastern cities as undergoing a transformation in the medieval/Islamic periods, rather than to project notions of decline onto the past or to arbitrarily set the high point of urbanism in the fourth and fifth centuries, after which all subsequent incarnations must necessarily fall short. Yet the city's change was not an episodic, isolated, and discrete event, and the terms *decline* and *transformation* do little

to advance the study of cities. Urban transformation must be seen as a process of continued abandonment and renewal as parts of the city fall into disuse and are destroyed, rebuilt, and repurposed. Such a perspective is not unlike that of the individual dwellers of these cities as they experienced their own immediate surroundings in the course of a lifetime or several generations. The fluctuating process of each city, as in the case study of Antioch/Antākiya, represents individual or regional variation; taken together, they will add to the growing knowledge of late antique and medieval urbanism, whether Byzantine or Islamic.

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